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A Grammar of Elfdalian

Yair Sapir and Olof Lundgren

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Abbreviations and conventions

Abbreviations

Ø	zero suffix
1PL	1st person plural
1SG	1st person singular
2PL	2nd person plural
2SG	2nd person singular
3PL	3rd person plural
3SG	3rd person singular
ACC	accusative
ACT	active voice
ATTR	attributive
C	consonant
C2	final root consonant, or final root consonant cluster
Dal.	Dalecarlian
Dan.	Danish
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEP	deponent
Elfd.	Elfdalian
Eng.	English
F, f.	feminine
GEN	genitive
Ice.	Icelandic
IMP	imperative
INDIC	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
Lat.	Latin
LCE	Late Classical Elfdalian
LS	long-syllabled
M, m.	masculine
MLG	Middle Low German
N, n.	neuter

NOM	nominative
Nor.	Norwegian
ON	Old Norse
PART	participle
PASS	passive voice
PL	plural
PLUP	pluperfect
PRED	predicative
PRS	present
PST	past
QUEST.ADV	question adverbial
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
SS	short-syllabled
SUBJ	subjunctive
SUP	supine
Swe.	Swedish
UpSD	Upper Siljan Dalecarlian
V	vowel
VOC	vocative

Conventions

(´)	Acute accent.
(`)	Grave accent.
(X)	The attributive variant appears without parentheses, whereas the independent variant appears in parentheses (either as a suffix added to the attributive form, or as a separate form) (see Section 4.1).

Orthography

The Standard Elfdalian Orthography established by Råddjärum, the Elfdalian Language Council, in 2005 has been applied throughout the current book.

Place names

Place names in Övdaln are usually cited in Elfdalian.

Personal names

Elfdalian personal names are usually cited in their Elfdalian forms. Names occurring in their Swedish forms in the Elfdalian original retain their Swedish forms in the English translation.

Structure of the root

To describe the structure of the root of a word, the root vowel is sometimes used to denote the root vowel, whereas C2 is used to denote the consonant or consonant cluster appearing after the vowel. For example, the verb *dalska* has the root *dalsk-*, in which *a* constitutes the root vowel, and the cluster *lsk* constitutes C2.

Preface

The main purpose of this book is to provide an exhaustive account of 'preserved' or 'Late Classical Elfdalian (LCE)',[1] the predominant language used in the parish of Övdaln in Dalarna,[2] Sweden by people born before 1900, as well as one of its modern varieties, 'Revitalised LCE'. From *c.* 1900 onwards, Elfdalian became subject to an ever-stronger influence from Swedish and to an ever-growing simplification of its structure. Moreover, modern Elfdalian has undergone domain losses and a language shift of some of the speakers into Swedish. With the help of the accumulated research on LCE, LCE language corpus, as well as recent literary corpus in Revitalised LCE, this book attempts to achieve a more comprehensive and accurate description of LCE than hitherto achieved. Sometimes described as an 'exotic' language variety within the Dalecarlian, as well as the North Germanic group, a language variety not understood even by speakers of the related varieties in the immediately neighbouring parishes (see Sections 1.1 and 1.3), Elfdalian has aroused the interest of scholars for centuries. An updated description of LCE for the international audience appears highly relevant for multiple reasons: the scarce overall knowledge about this unique North Germanic variety, in spite of the recent scholarly 'rediscovery' of Elfdalian, the current sociolinguistic situation of Elfdalian, involving a language revitalisation process based on its 'preserved' version, as well as the current attempts to acquire an official recognition of the language in Sweden.

An additional purpose is to provide the reader – whether a native speaker, a learner, a teacher of Elfdalian or a scholar of Scandinavian linguistics – with a systematic Elfdalian grammar that is easily accessible. Since the introduction of the Standard Elfdalian Orthography in 2005, literature in and about Elfdalian has been partially or totally adapted to the new standard. This is the first comprehensive Elfdalian grammar published in English. Moreover, the description is carried out with the help of modern linguistic tools and applies the Standard Elfdalian Orthography. Hence, it can be used as an aid when reading or writing current Elfdalian texts.

Research about LCE from the past decades has shed light on linguistic topics in the Elfdalian context that have hitherto been little

[1] For an explanation of the term, see Section 1.3.4.3.
[2] Swedish and English *Älvdalen*.

or not at all accounted for. Literature in revitalised LCE over the same period has substantially increased the corpus published in this language. Another important original LCE corpus consists of *Frost Anders dagbok* (Swedish for 'Frost Anders' diary'), dating from the 1940s but not discovered until 2013, and parts of which have been published.[3] All these resources have been invaluable for the current study.

Although LCE is a minority language, with only around 2,500 people speaking its contemporary variant, we hope that the research presented here will also have a broader relevance within the field of Scandinavian linguistics and studies.

As LCE has mainly been used as a non-standard, colloquial vernacular, it shows a certain degree of variation, mainly in terms of phonology, morphology, lexicon and phraseology. In this book, we adhere to the current standard orthography and to the language form which appears common in the documented LCE, as well as in its modern, revitalised form.

Elfdalian has traditionally been classified as a Swedish dialect. The interest in studying and documenting the traditional Swedish dialects, including Elfdalian, has been in decline since the 1960s. However, Elfdalian has gained renewed attention both locally and further afield in academic circles, and among language activists, politicians and mass media.

The decision to compile a book about the late classical form of Elfdalian was taken partially due to the fact that a major part of the efforts to revitalise Elfdalian since the 1980s have had LCE, also mentioned as *regelbunden* or *vårdad älvdalska* 'regular' or 'preserved, cultivated Elfdalian', as a role model, and this is the language form that the Elfdalian Language Association seeks to preserve. For those working with Elfdalian language revitalisation, it is often considered the 'genuine' and 'complete' Elfdalian language system, owing to the decline of the language since about 1900. Although our approach is mainly descriptive, our hope is that the current book will likewise serve as a useful tool in the efforts to strengthen Elfdalian through revitalisation and instruction.

Two previous descriptions of LCE should be mentioned in this context: Lars Levander's *Älvdalsmålet I Dalarna* 'Elfdalian in Dalarna' (1909a), and Bengt Åkerberg and Gunnar Nyström's *Älvdalsk grammatik* 'Elfdalian Grammar' (2012). Our hope is that the current work will fill knowledge gaps, and likewise organise some grammatical paradigms more

[3] The corpus constitutes the longest written and published original text in LCE. With its approximately 48,000 words, the published part of the diaries reproduces about a third of the original handwritten manuscript.

concisely than in these and other previous descriptions. In cases where there is disagreement between Levander and Åkerberg and Nyström, which are often due to regional variation in phonological terms, we usually follow Åkerberg and Nyström. With the exceptions of Chapter 1 ('Introduction') and Chapter 12 ('Clause structure and word order'), no references are provided in the text. Rather, a complete source list is furnished in 'Sources for quotes', as well as in the 'Sources for grammars and dictionaries', at the back of the book.

This book is not intended as a language course book, but rather as a handbook that contains a systematic account of the LCE language system based on authentic texts. As such, the book does not have to be read from beginning to end. Instead, areas of interest can be found on the contents and index pages, which will guide readers to the relevant section. Cross-referencing and division into sections will further help readers to find information about specific grammatical topics.

Acknowledgements

This book is a result of cooperation between Olof Lundgren, who wrote Chapters 2, 4 and 9, as well as Section 12.2.3, and Yair Sapir, who wrote the remaining text. We are deeply grateful to the many individuals and organisations without whose persistent and laborious efforts, collections and research our accumulated knowledge of Elfdalian would have been greatly lacking. With regard to the specific contents of this book, we are very much obliged to Professor Emeritus Lars Steensland, who has read the whole manuscript and provided us with supportive feedback, including enriching discussions, and likewise to the late Gunnar Nyström, who was very helpful and inspiring in the early stages of our work. Tjär tokk fer!

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I (Yair) would further like to pay my gratitude and respect to the late Gunnar Nyström for being a friend, a mentor and likewise a partner in various projects concerning Elfdalian. I would like to thank colleagues from my own as well as other universities, and language activists who have been engaged and supportive in the book writing process: Professor Emeritus Lars Steensland, Professor Emeritus Östen Dahl, Professor Henrik Williams, Professor Emeritus Staffan Fridell, Ingemar Ottosson, Piotr Garbacz, Stefan Jacobsson, Joakim Wehlin, the late Mats Elfquist, the late Bengt Åkerberg, the late Gösta Larsson, Inga-Britt Pettersson, the late Gerda Werf, Ulla Schütt and Björn Rehnström. Likewise, many thanks to my friends and family for being supportive and patient throughout. A huge thank you, todá rabá, goes out to my mother Esther for her continuous encouragement.

I am furthermore deeply grateful to the Längmanska Culture Fund for their grant that enabled me to carry out several trips to Övdaln in connection with this book, and thus to acquire an accurate picture of the current situation of Elfdalian.

1
Introduction

The current chapter accounts for the background of LCE from different angles: general facts, research about the language, its history and its periodisation, the current sociolinguistic situation of Elfdalian, including its status as a language, standardisation and revitalisation processes. Moreover, two hypotheses are presented in this chapter: the first one concerns the position of Elfdalian in the North Germanic branch, whereas the second one concerns the emergence of Dalecarlian, from which Elfdalian later sprung.

1.1 General facts

Elfdalian (autonym: *övkallmål*, *övdalsk(ą)* or *dalska*, Eng.: also *Övdalian/Oevdalian*, Swe.: *älvdalska* or *älvdalsmål*) is spoken predominantly in the historical parish of Övdaln,[1] situated on both banks of the East Dal River in the Upper Siljan region, Upper Dalarna,[2] Sweden (see Figure 1.1). The Elfdalian spoken today originates in LCE. Modern Elfdalian differs from LCE on various levels (see Sections 1.3.4.1–1.3.4.5).

[1] This is the Elfdalian name of the historical parish (i.e. an earlier administrative unit), lit. 'The River Valley'. *Älvdalen* is the Swedish name of the historical parish, which roughly corresponds to the current District of Älvdalen. This territory is in turn part of the current municipality of Älvdalen, which also comprises the historical, and previously Norwegian, parishes of Särna and Idre. Throughout this book, the Elfdalian name, 'Övdaln', will be used when referring to the historical parish or the area corresponding to it, and 'Älvdalen' will be used when referring to the whole municipality.

[2] Dalarna has traditionally been named 'Dalecarlia' in English.

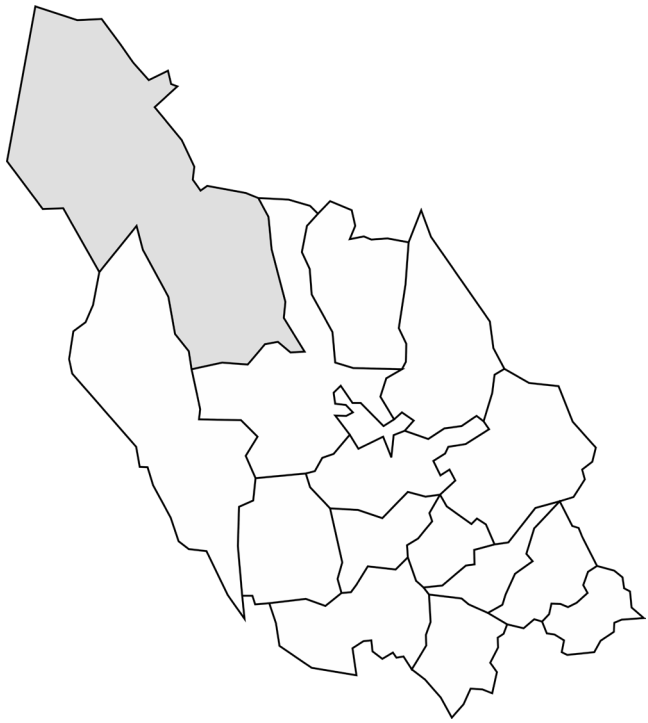

Figure 1.1 Dalarna and its current division into municipalities.
Note: The municipality of Älvdalen is in grey.
Source: Derivative work by Olof Lundgren of user Lokal_Profil on Wikimedia Commons. CC BY-SA 2.5.

The number of speakers of Modern Elfdalian is roughly estimated to be about 2,500. Owing to developments in the past 120 years or so, Elfdalian has been subject to an ever-stronger influence from Swedish in terms of language structure, phonology included, as well as lexicon, and is hence considered a different language stage – Modern Elfdalian. Moreover, the current Elfdalian speech community is bilingual Elfdalian and Swedish, and Swedish is predominant in almost all domains. Most speakers today use Modern Elfdalian, although a few, some of whom are new speakers, employ a revitalised form of LCE or some elements from it. As a rule, the younger the Elfdalian speakers are, the stronger is the Swedish influence. As Elfdalian and Swedish are related to each other, linguistic transfer from Swedish to Elfdalian is easy. Because Elfdalian is not taught in schools on a regular basis, literacy in the language is usually low. Hence, it is challenging to establish solid criteria as to who should be

considered a fully fledged Elfdalian speaker. A reaction to the language decline has emerged in the form of language activism and revitalisation, with LCE often being used as a basis. Diverse linguistic activities in and about Elfdalian over the past 20 years or so, as well as its (re)introduction into some new and old domains, have made it possible to bring some LCE linguistic features back to life, to use the language in written communication, to enable native speakers to reclaim their language and to allow new speakers into the speech community. If Elfdalian is recognised as a minority or regional language in Sweden, the number of speakers is likely to increase, and likewise the general level of Elfdalian language skills. Elfdalian speakers are estimated to make up about half of the 5,000 people living in Övdaln, whereas many of the remaining *c*. 2,500 reportedly have receptive Elfdalian language skills.

Elfdalian belongs to the Upper Siljan Dalecarlian (UpSD) sub-branch of Dalecarlian, the Dalecarlian traditionally spoken in Northern Dalarna (see Figure 1.2), often referred to as 'Dalecarlian Proper' (Swe. '*dalmål i egentlig mening*'). The two other sub-branches of Dalecarlian are Lower Siljan Dalecarlian and Western Dalecarlian. A definition of a 'dialect' could be its very indefinability. In many nation states, other varieties than the standard variety have been discriminated against, looked down upon or made invisible; and as such, there has usually been no need to demarcate them. The same is true of Elfdalian and the way it has been treated for a long time. Functioning as a colloquial, unstandardised vernacular, with Swedish serving as the formal and written language, there was no necessity to demarcate Elfdalian, especially on the part of the state. Making part of the UpSD dialect continuum,[3] Levander (1909a) was the first, and so far the last, to demarcate Elfdalian geographically. This demarcation, based on linguistic grounds, coincided with the contemporary administrative borders of the parish of Övdaln. Thus, the relatively close vernaculars of Våmhus and Bonäs,[4] the next two vernaculars in the dialect continuum, towards the east and the south-east, were excluded. Compared with the two other major vernaculars within the UpSD sub-branch, Orsamål and Moramål, Elfdalian often stands out as being more conservative on multiple linguistic levels, easy to discern and identify in both written and oral form[5] and not particularly intelligible to speakers of the two other

[3] The terms 'dialect', 'variety', 'vernacular' and 'language' are sometimes used synonymously throughout this book owing to the complexity in defining these terms in the Elfdalian context.

[4] In his preface, Levander claims that he excluded from his grammatical description the varieties from the villages of Våmhus and Bonäs, previously treated as part of Elfdalian, as their morphology deviated from the remaining Elfdalian varieties.

[5] In oral form, this is partially because of the distinct accent system of Elfdalian.

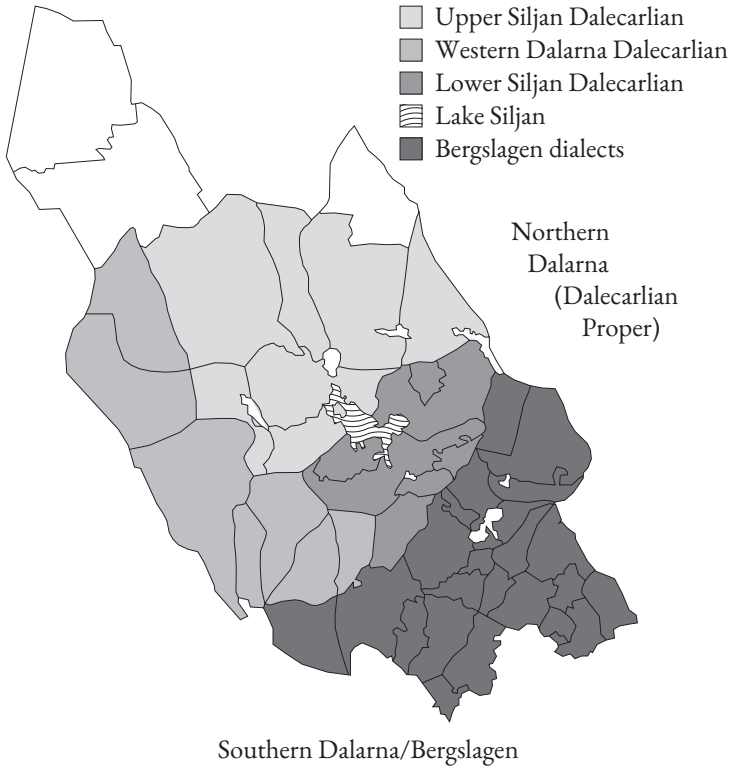

Figure 1.2 Historical parishes of Dalarna (*c.* mid-nineteenth century).
Note: Dalecarlian (or 'Dalecarlian Proper') refers to the vernaculars of Northern Dalarna, the areas marked in lighter grey colours. The white-coloured areas are not a part of the historical Dalecarlian language area.
Source: Created by Olof Lundgren.

UpSD vernaculars. The dialect split in Northern Dalarna, and more notably in the Upper Siljan region, was described as the most radical in the North Germanic language area,[6] sometimes going down to the village level. Additionally, Levander (1909b) even observed minor linguistic differences between the language varieties of two farms that were located at two ends of the village of Åsär (Swe. Åsen) in Övdaln.

Within Övdaln, 12 different regional sub-varieties of Elfdalian were discerned by Levander (1909a), with the following villages as

[6] The term 'North Germanic' for 'Norse' or 'Scandinavian' is often used here, as it is linguistic rather than geographical, hence acknowledging that other language groups are native to the region. However, for practical reasons, the two other terms will be used as well when deemed suitable in the context.

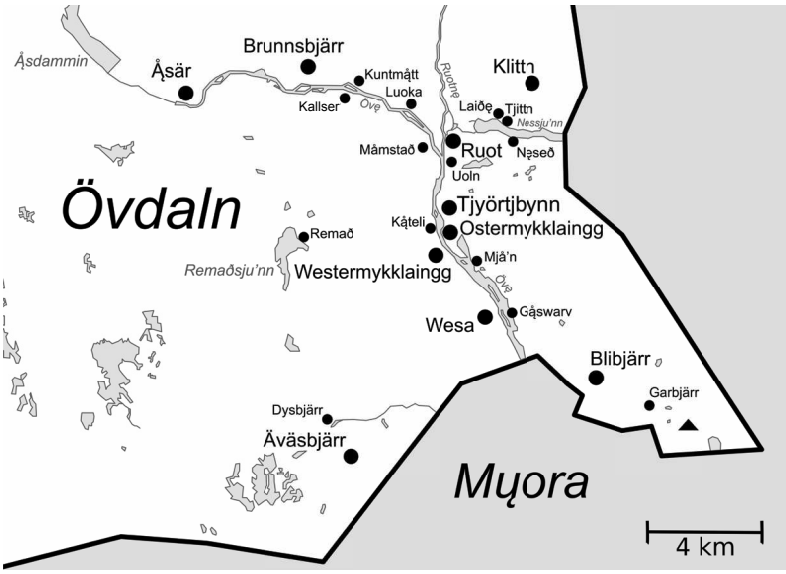

Figure 1.3 Map of Övdaln (with Elfdalian names).
Note: For village names in Elfdalian and Swedish, see Section 13.2.2.
Source: Created by Olof Lundgren.

their centres: Blibjärr, Brunnsbsjärr, Garbjärr, Kallser, Klittn, Luoka, Nęseð, Gåswarv, Wesa, Westermykklaingg, Äväsbjärr, Åsär (see also Figure 1.3).[7, 8] The relatively minor linguistic differences between these sub-varieties are mainly manifested in regular phonological shifts and, to a lesser degree, in the morphology and lexicon. Features common to the Elfdalian sub-varieties when compared with varieties outside Övdaln appear to be sufficient to justify them as one Elfdalian 'hyper-variety'.

The lexicon, grammar and phonology of Elfdalian appears to be predominantly North Germanic. A non-Germanic language substrate has not been attested, and interference from non-Germanic sources appears to be negligible: some syntactic interference from the neighbouring Sámi languages might have taken place. Such interference may be explained by the long history of neighbourhood of the two speech communities, as well as the fact that some nomadic Sámis in Central and Northern Sweden have

[7] Some are limited to that village, and some are also used in the surrounding villages.
[8] For the Swedish names of these villages, see Section 13.2.2.2.

settled down permanently, thus becoming farmers and assimilating into local Swedish communities.[9]

1.2 Previous research and documentation

The motives behind the relatively high scholarly attention on Dalecarlian (or 'Dalecarlian Proper', see Section 1.1) for the past centuries, and more specifically in Elfdalian, probably lies in the interest, often demonstrated by historical and comparative linguistics, as well as by Swedish national romanticism and nationalism, in pinpointing the 'ancient (Norse) language'.[10] In this spirit, but presumably also on pure linguistic grounds, the Danish linguist Rasmus Rask (1818) pointed out that Dalecarlian in some parishes in Dalarna was the most archaic North Germanic variety after Icelandic and Faroese.

Research into Elfdalian in the modern sense of the word was launched by Adolf Noreen, Professor of Scandinavian Linguistics at Uppsala University at the end of the nineteenth century, who mapped the Dalecarlian nasal vowels and dated some of them to the Proto-Norse/Proto-Germanic era in *De nordiska språkens nasalerade vocaler* ('The nasal vowels of the Nordic languages', 1886). The first comprehensive Elfdalian grammar is Lars Levander's dissertation *Älvdalsmålet i Dalarna, ordböjning ock syntax* ('Elfdalian in Dalarna, word inflection and syntax', 1909a), a study of the Åsär vernacular of Elfdalian.[11] Levander further provided a comprehensive general historical and contemporary background to the Dalecarlian dialects, and described their phonological systems from a diachronic and synchronic perspective, as well as their morphological structure, in his two-volume work *Dalmålet – beskrivning och historia* ('Dalecarlian – description and

[9] Sámi influence might have affected the following features in Elfdalian: clause-initial negation adverbial, diphthongisation into *uo* and *ie*, pro drop in some verb conjugations, the highly productive compounding of adjectives with their head nouns ('incorporated adjectives'), a suffix in nouns for marking non-delimited use, a rich system of adverbials and verbs conveying the speaker's attitude, the scarce use of the infinitive particle, the scarce use of the subordinating conjunction *at* (a word borrowed into Elfdalian from Swedish), as well as a separate verb for 'to speak Elfdalian'. Likewise, expressions for compass points in Elfdalian are not absolute, but stand in relation to the direction of the *Sturövę* (East Dal River, Swe. *Österdalälven*), in resemblance to the Sámi system south of the Northern Sámi area (see also Söder and Parkvall 2010). For more on compass points in Elfdalian, see Chapter 8. For more on possible Sámi influence on North Germanic and Swedish varieties, see also Rießler (2002).

[10] For instance, the first dissertation about a Swedish dialect, published in 1733, aimed to show similarities between Dalecarlian, Old Swedish and Icelandic (Ringmar 2011).

[11] This vernacular is considered one of the most conservative Elfdalian sub-varieties and was probably chosen by Levander for this reason.

history', 1925–8). Further, Levander (1909b) provided a description of the contemporary Elfdalian vernacular of Åsär from a sociolinguistic angle, as well as a description of the lifestyle and working tools in traditional society in Övdaln in the middle of the nineteenth century (Levander 1953). Aware of the immense linguistic, societal and economic changes taking place during his lifetime, Levander felt the necessity to document the old world before it disappeared forever.

Björklund (1956) described and analysed the Elfdalian used in a seventeenth-century play written by Andreas Prytz about Gustav Vasa, the King of Sweden, who conversed with five Dalecarlian men who used their native vernacular; this was later identified as Elfdalian.

Lars Steensland was the first scholar to publish books intended primarily for the Elfdalian speech community. Since the 1980s, he has been publishing dictionaries as well as popular scientific books about Elfdalian place names and Elfdalian words for birds and plants (Steensland 1994, 2000). His recent *Älvdalsk ordbok* ('Elfdalian dictionary', Steensland 2021) is the most comprehensive Swedish-Elfdalian-Swedish dictionary to date. Another important source of information about the Elfdalian lexicon, as well as other Dalecarlian dialects, is 'The dictionary of the vernaculars of Northern Dalarna' (Levander et al. 1961–2022).

In his dissertation, Sven Olof Hultgren (1983) documented contemporary Dalecarlian vernaculars, their use in the school environment and attitudes towards them, as well as the use of Standard Swedish in school. Another important sociolinguistic study in this context, carried out by John Helgander (2004), dealt with changes through time in the UpSD vernaculars in general and in Elfdalian in particular, as well as attitudes towards the vernaculars. Dorota Melerska's dissertation (2011) contained a comprehensive survey about the sociolinguistic situation of Elfdalian, the vitality of Elfdalian, efforts to revitalise it, and attitudes towards it. Yair Sapir (2017) further accounted for standardisation and revitalisation efforts in the Elfdalian context, mainly since 2004.

Bengt Åkerberg and Gunnar Nyström's comprehensive *Älvdalsk grammatik* ('Elfdalian grammar', Åkerberg and Nyström 2012), partially based on Levander (1909b) and partially on material collected by Nyström as well as previous unpublished grammars by Åkerberg, likewise accounts for LCE and is further complemented with a phonological section, additional paradigms and many examples and quotes from authentic texts.

Henrik Rosenkvist (2006, 2007, 2010, 2015) studied various topics concerning Elfdalian syntax, also from a larger, comparative perspective. In his dissertation, Piotr Garbacz (2010) provided an account of Elfdalian

syntax among speakers born between the 1920s and the 1940s, as well as various other topics related to Elfdalian syntax. Another central work about Elfdalian syntax and morphology is the volume *Studies in Övdalian Morphology and Syntax* (Bentzen et al. 2015), partially applying methods from generative syntax, and accounting for Elfdalian both from a synchronic and a diachronic angle.

Moreover, two conference volumes with a variety of topics concerning Elfdalian have been published: *Rapport från Första konferensen om älvdalska/fuost konferensn um övdalskų* ('Proceedings from the first conference about Elfdalian', 2005), as well as *Rapport från Andra konferensen om älvdalska/oðer råðstemną um övdalskų* ('Proceedings from the second conference about Elfdalian', 2011). The publications mentioned above, from 2005 and onwards, comprise some of the first significant English-language publications about Elfdalian.

1.3 Dalecarlian and Elfdalian – origin and age, periodisation and linguistic affinity

This section accounts for the origin and age of Dalecarlian, the predecessor of Elfdalian, the position of Dalecarlian and Elfdalian within the North Germanic language family and the periodisation of Dalecarlian and Elfdalian.[12] The accounts of the origin and age of Dalecarlian and the position of Elfdalian within the North Germanic language family are presented here in the form of a short overview of previous research (Section 1.3.1), a hypothesis on the origin and age of Dalecarlian (Section 1.3.2) and a second hypothesis on the position of Dalecarlian and Elfdalian within North Germanic (Section 1.3.3).

As the hypotheses partially concern Swedish prehistory (that is, until *c.* 1000 CE), relatively little data is available from Dalarna in particular, and Sweden in general. It should also be kept in mind that the territory of today's Sweden in general, and Dalarna in particular, was sparsely populated in the sixth century.[13] As the number of longer texts written by

[12] The focus of this chapter is on the predecessor of Elfdalian rather than the possible predecessor of the whole Dalecarlian branch (see also the term 'Old Dalecarlian' in Section 1.3.1).

[13] As Dahl (2001) points out, the Swedish provinces around 500 CE were sparsely populated – around 10,000 in the Mälardalen region and the same number in all other Swedish regions in total, which would give a population density of 0.2 inhabitants per square kilometre. Dahl (2001) suggests moreover that the population of Scandinavia at that time was divided into small groups of at most up to a couple of thousand people living at large distances from each other, a favourable situation for the development of language variation.

locals prior to *c.* 1000 is limited, other material, consisting of both intra- and extralinguistic data, or secondary sources, is presented here. The intralinguistic data available from that period consists of a limited corpus of runic inscriptions in Proto-Norse (often short and not always decipherable)[14] from other parts of Scandinavia than Dalarna, data about the Dalecarlian sub-branch or Elfdalian from later stages, data about other North Germanic as well as Sámi varieties, and likewise data about Dalecarlian place names. The extralinguistic data consist of the available rather scarce, but still useful, archaeological data from Dalarna, its culture and livelihood, and likewise history written by foreigners and oral storytelling from Northern Dalarna. More research is necessary to confirm both hypotheses.

Presenting these accounts as hypotheses implies that further study is necessary to confirm or reject them.

1.3.1 Aspects from previous research

This section touches upon some central aspects within previous theses about the origin of Dalecarlian and/or Elfdalian and their position in the North Germanic language family. It is hence by no means an exhaustive overview of previous research on these topics.

The idiosyncrasy of Dalecarlian arouses the interest of linguists. For instance, as early as 1818 the renowned Danish linguist Rasmus Rask (1818) claimed that Dalecarlian was the most archaic North Germanic variety after Icelandic and Faroese. Reitan (1930, 9) argued that *dalmålet* 'Dalecarlian' demonstrated so many peculiarities and deviations from its neighbouring vernaculars that it should be treated as a separate Scandinavian language rather than as a Swedish dialect. Using a method for measuring linguistic distance of the vocabulary, Dahl (2005) concluded that the distance between Swedish and the UpSD vernaculars, to which Elfdalian belongs, is comparable to the one between Swedish and Icelandic or Faroese and is much greater than the distances between Swedish, Danish and Norwegian.

As to the age of Dalecarlian, Levander (1925, 38) suggested the starting point of *forndalska* 'Old Dalecarlian' to be during the eighth or ninth century CE as *terminus post quem* and during the sixteenth century CE as terminus ad quem. Schalin (2018) viewed Dalecarlian, as well as Gutnish,

[14] These are inscriptions made in various types of runic alphabets, which had been used for numerous Germanic languages since the second century CE, often containing practical or memorial texts. The earliest runes from Dalarna are dated to the fourteenth century, are relatively few and contain rather short texts (see also Sections 1.3.4.4 and 2.3).

as separate branches of the Nordic branch, which branched off between the sixth and the mid-eighth century at the latest, that is, before the branching off of Old East and Old West Scandinavian.

According to the commonly accepted division of Swedish dialects, based on Wessén (1968 [1935]), the Dalecarlian dialect group constitutes a dialectal sub-branch 'holding an exceptional position' within the Sveamål dialect group of Central Sweden 'due to its very archaic character and strong ramification into subvariants'.[15] Wessén (1968) further discerned a 'Norrlandic' sub-branch of the Swedish dialects of Norrland, and an 'Eastern Swedish' sub-branch of the Swedish dialects of Finland and Estonia.

Compared with Wessén (1968 [1935]), Noreen (1903), Hesselman (1905) and Bandle ([1973] 2011) viewed Dalecarlian from a rather dialectal and Nordic perspective and considered it to be part of a larger Northern Scandinavian dialect continuum,[16] based on a dialectological division of the North Germanic languages. Torp (2004, 15) regarded the dialects of Upper Dalecarlia as an example of an 'abstand language' due to the lack of mutual intelligibility with speakers within the Swedish language area. Similarly, Dahl (2015, 1) identified Elfdalian as part of a 'Peripheral Swedish area', that is, non-standard varieties of Swedish in Northern Sweden, Swedish Finland and Estonia, which, besides sharing some conservative features, also appear to share some innovative features.

There is a consensus as to the status of Elfdalian as a member of the Upper Siljan sub-branch of Dalecarlian (that is, 'Dalecarlian Proper') (see Section 1.1; Levander 1925; Noreen 1903; Sapir 2005).

Factors such as the continuous development of the study of Swedish dialects in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (as pointed out by Hesselman 1905) produced more relevant data in the field. Likewise, Holm (1980), shed light on the importance of written standard Swedish as a factor that blurred knowledge about the rural dialects.

[15] This group comprises the dialects spoken in Södermanland, Uppland, Dalarna, Västmanland, Närke, SE Värmland, Gästrikland, Hälsingland, Östergötland, North-Eastern Småland and Öland.

[16] The term 'North Scandinavian' denotes Mainland North Germanic or Nordic varieties, as opposed to Insular North Germanic or Nordic varieties.

1.3.2 Hypothesis on the origin of Dalecarlian

The current hypothesis[17] postulates that Late Proto-Norse[18] reached the territory of Dalarna in the sixth century CE at the earliest and in the middle of the eighth century CE at the latest. It likewise postulates that the Dalecarlian variety of Late Proto-Norse, Old Dalecarlian, gradually began to evolve independently from Late Proto-Norse/Old Norse in the centuries to come and became consolidated up to the thirteenth century at the latest.

The Dalecarlian variety is believed to have emerged as a result of the language contact of the local population(s) of Dalarna, consisting of speakers of Palaeo North Scandinavian[19] and Southern Proto-Sámi,[20] with speakers of Late Proto-Norse from the Mälardalen region to the south and especially from Uppland to the south-east. That language contact is postulated to have yielded a trilingual population to begin with, followed by a gradual rise in Southern Proto-Sámi and Late Proto-Norse at the cost of the Palaeo North Scandinavian, which consequently became extinct.[21]

Extralinguistic data demonstrate strong connections between Dalarna and Uppland since the sixth century CE. Although archaeological data show that Dalarna was inhabited for several millennia by a hunter-gatherer population, and, although it had been subject to centuries-long influences both from the east (today's Finland and Russia) and from the south since at least the Neolithic period, some important changes

[17] The idea to launch this hypothesis was conceptualised by Stefan Jacobsson and Yair Sapir.

[18] This stage of Proto-Norse, as well as its name, is based on Schulte's (2024, 6) periodisation of Proto-Norse, a stage which lasted *c.* 550–750 CE. The following stage is the Old Norse period, from which Danish, Norwegian and Swedish allegedly branched off.

[19] Lindström (2023, 355) introduces the Swedish term 'paleonordskandinaviska', which roughly corresponds to Aikio's (2012, 64) 'Palaeo Laplandic'.

[20] Piha (2018, 136) suggests that the Southern Proto-Sámi population arrived in this region from today's Finland around 200 CE.

[21] A Palaeo North Scandinavian substrate is not discernable in Elfdalian on the surface, although this topic has not been studied systematically. A Palaeo North Scandinavian substrate is, however, discernable in Proto-South Sámi. More than a thousand words in Sámi which are not shared with other Uralic languages and are believed to originate from Palaeo North Scandinavian (Aikio 2012; Piha 2018). A Sámi substrate or influence on Elfdalian, namely in the domains of morphology and syntax, is possible in the following domains: (a) clause-initial negation adverbial; (b) diphthongisation of Old Norse *ó* and *ei* into *uo* and *ie*, respectively; (c) pro drop in some verb declensions; (d) the highly productive compounding of adjectives with their head nouns ('incorporated adjectives'); (e) a suffix in nouns for marking non-delimited use; (f) a rich system of adverbials and verbs conveying the speaker's attitude; (g) the scarce use of the infinitive particle; (h) the scarce use of the subordinating conjunction *at* (a word borrowed into Elfdalian from Swedish), as well as (i) a separate verb for 'to speak Elfdalian'. Likewise, expressions for cardinal points in Elfdalian are not absolute but stand in relation to the terrain, similar to the Sámi system (see also Rießler 2002).

took place during the Roman Iron Age (1–400 CE) and the Migration Period (400–550 CE), as Sámis from today's Finland migrated to the territory of Dalarna around 200 CE. In the sixth century CE, significant cultural influences reached Dalarna from the Swedes (Swe. *svear*)[22] in the Mälardalen region, especially Uppland, in the shape of luxurious grave objects (for instance, coins, including Roman coins, pearls and weapons), permanent settlements, longhouses in the southern part of Dalarna, and a livelihood comprising hunting and gathering, small-scale agriculture and domestic animal husbandry. These influences are regarded as the consequence of intense trade connections with the Mälardalen region, as they coincided with proofs for increased hunting activities, resulting in excess production of wilderness products, such as skin and furs, and likewise in the beginning of the production of bog iron ore. These activities transformed the local population of Dalarna, as well as other regions of Southern and Central Norrland, into purveyors of wilderness products, which they traded with the 'Swedes' to the south. This trade resulted, in turn, in wealth, which caused them to partially give up traditional activities. The extraction of bog iron ore in Dalarna coincided likewise with the establishment of permanent continuous settlements in Dalarna around the sixth to eighth centuries CE (Aikio 2012; Carpelan 1984, cited in Aikio 2012; Hyenstrand 1974, 219; Piha 2018; Lindström 2023; Wehlin 2016).[23]

Intralinguistic data show that some elements of Proto-Norse (a language stage that lasted until *c.* 750 CE) which disappeared from other Nordic varieties, in some cases as early as the Old Norse stage (that is, *c.* 750 to *c.* 1220), still persist in UpSD up to the present. The existence of these Proto-Norse archaisms can be confirmed with the help of runic inscriptions from that period (however, none were attested from Dalarna itself from that period). These intralinguistic data confirm that Late Proto-Norse emerged in Dalarna no later than at the middle of the eighth century CE.

Moreover, as observed by Levander (1925, 43) the local phonological Dalecarlian innovation in the shape of the diphthongisation of *ī*, *ū* and *ȳ* in loanwords associated with Christianity confirms that this diphthongisation must have emerged in Dalecarlian before the thirteenth century. Due to the lack of written records in Dalecarlian prior to the fourteenth century

[22] Mainly Vendel and Gamla Uppsala in Uppland were important in these contexts, as they constituted important centres of the Swedish or *Svea* provinces.

[23] According to Hyenstrand (1974), earlier settlements were sporadic and localised to more peripheral parts of Dalarna. After iron began to be extracted from bog ore, a network of towns in the Swedish provinces in the Mälaren region (south and south-east of Dalarna) was established, to which iron was transported from Dalarna.

and the scarcity of long written texts in Dalecarlian prior to the seventeenth century, no other earlier local innovations in Dalecarlian have been attested.

Further factors support the claim that Dalecarlian had become an independent North Germanic variety by the thirteenth century: (a) the peripheral location of Dalarna between two power centres to the west and north-west on the one hand, and to the south and south-east on the other; (b) the fact that Dalecarlian was able to preserve an independent position among the West Norse dialects and East Norse dialects, preserving archaisms, introducing innovations and absorbing some western influences as well as eastern influences; and (c) a situation in which a population speaks unrelated languages before the introduction of a new, dominant language and undergoes a language shift is likewise favourable for developing a local variety (see also Section 1.3.4.1). Moreover, (d) some place names in Northern Dalarna associated with religion appear to be based on spiritual deities of a nature religion rather than Nordic deities (Stefan Jacobsson, personal communication, 1 March 2023, see also Section 13.2.2); (e) the frequent presence of nature spirits in popular storytelling as late as the twentieth century (see Chapter 14, 'Text samples') likewise supports the hypothesis that the indigenous population of Dalarna had a separate culture prior to their contact with the Late Proto-Norse-speaking, agricultural Mälardalen Swedes, and retained it afterwards.

Compared with Levander's (1925) suggested dating of the emergence of Old Dalecarlian to the eighth or ninth century CE at the earliest and the sixteenth century CE at the latest, this hypothesis postulates the dating of the emergence of Late Proto-Norse in Dalarna to between the sixth century CE and the middle of the eighth century CE at the latest. Further, it postulates the dating of the consolidation of Dalecarlian as a separate variety within the North Germanic branch to the thirteenth century CE at the latest.

1.3.3 Hypothesis on Dalecarlian within North Germanic

According to this hypothesis, Dalecarlian constitutes a sub-branch of the North Scandinavian[24] branch of the North Germanic languages from a

[24] This term is based on Bandle's (2011, map 22) division, which in turn is based on North Germanic dialectology. Bandle divides the North Germanic language area into three main branches: (a) a western one comprising Icelandic, Faroese and western Norwegian; (b) a southern one comprising Denmark and former Danish territories in today's Sweden; and (c) a northern one comprising the rest of the Nordic area. The northern branch is, in turn, divided into four sub-branches: (a) North Scandinavian in the narrow sense, which comprises large part of Norway, excluding the south-west, large parts of Northern Sweden, as well as Dalecarlian Proper (close to the border with Eastern Swedish); (b) Eastern Swedish (including eastern Swedish provinces) and Swedish-speaking Finland and Estonia; (c) Göthic; and (d) Gutnish.

synchronic perspective (in the centuries up to *c.* 1900), based on previous research and classification. Changes in the past *c.* 120 years caused a dialect levelling of the Dalecarlian sub-branch, Modern Elfdalian included, bringing present-day Dalecarlian and Elfdalian closer to Standard Swedish. For the classification of Elfdalian within the Dalecarlian sub-branch, see Section 1.1.

This hypothesis is partially based on Hesselman (1905) and Noreen (1903), Bandle ([1973] 2011), who identified Dalecarlian as part of the 'North Scandinavian subbranch in the narrow sense', as well as Dahl (2015), who identified Elfdalian as part of 'Peripheral Swedish' (see also Section 1.3.1).

Written material from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries originating from adjacent areas to those where 'Dalecarlian Proper' was spoken shows some linguistic similarities to Dalecarlian, thus supporting the thesis that the Dalecarlian-speaking area had previously been much larger (Björklund 1956, 1f). The launching of a more professional operation of the Falun Copper Mine in Southern Dalarna in the thirteenth century, where people from different parts of Sweden as well as German-speaking areas worked, inevitably accelerated the dialect levelling in this part of Dalarna, hence causing the decline of a potential 'Dalecarlian Proper' in that region. Moreover, this levelling probably influenced the dialects of the Lower Siljan region in the following centuries, thus leaving the Upper Siljan region as an enclave of a more conservative form of Dalecarlian until the middle of the nineteenth century or the beginning of the twentieth century.

As mentioned in Section 1.3.2, several factors characterise Dalecarlian (see also Section 1.3.4.1): (a) archaic features, some of which had disappeared in most or all other Nordic varieties as early as the Late Proto-Nordic or during the Old Norse stage but persist in Upper Siljan Dalecarlian and/or in Elfdalian to date. These archaic features demonstrate that Dalecarlian was sometimes able to resist western or north-western innovations from Norwegian territory on the one hand and eastern or south-eastern innovations from Uppland or the Mälardalen region on the other. Sometimes, Dalecarlian was able to resist innovations from both directions; (b) local innovations unattested in other Nordic varieties; (c) western/north-western and eastern/south-eastern innovations. These innovations from the outside arrived from the centres of power in the Uppland region to the south-east, passing through Dalarna and continuing further towards the north-west, as well as from the west and north-west, mainly from the Norwegian regions of Trøndelag, Rogaland and Hordaland, likewise passing through Dalarna, and continuing further to the east by means of trade and migration (see Bandle [1973] 2011).

Interestingly, innovations from the west/north-west and from the east/south-east appear to have come to a relative halt during the fourteenth century; finally, (d) Dalecarlian took part in innovations common to both Western and Eastern Scandinavian varieties.

Several factors appear to have contributed to a relative stagnation in linguistic influences on Dalecarlian (more specifically Eastern Dalecarlian, that is, Lower and Upper Siljan Dalecarlian) between the fourteenth and the nineteenth centuries (see also Levander 1925, 34) from Norway[25] as well as the Mälaren/Uppland region in Sweden.[26] Firstly, after a period of relative stability and economic prosperity in both Norway[27] and Sweden during the first half of the fourteenth century, both countries lost their political power in part to the Queen of Denmark, as they joined the Kalmar Union at the end of the fourteenth century. Secondly, the Black Death eliminated between 30 and 60 per cent of the population of these countries in the middle of the fourteenth century, with heavy damages and losses as a consequence. Thirdly, trade in Norway became incorporated in the Hanseatic League in the second half of the fourteenth century.[28]

This relative linguistic conservatism characterising Upper Siljan Dalarna between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries is likewise manifested by cultural conservatism, such as the continuous use of runes in Upper Siljan Dalarna, which were introduced to the region in the fourteenth century at the latest and were in continuous use exclusively in Övdaln and a few adjacent villages up to the beginning of the twentieth century (see also Section 1.3.4.4),[29] as well as the continuous use of bloomery, a metallurgical

[25] Norway was located across the border from Övdaln until 1645 in the shape of the parishes of Särna and Idre.

[26] One important exception is the introduction of the apocope sometime between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

[27] Norway was a sovereign state with a central administration and vivid trade connections between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries.

[28] Bearing these events in mind, it is understandable why also Elfdalian language evolution became relatively static after that period, thus managing to preserve language features typical for Medieval Mainland North Germanic varieties up to modern times. Owing to the Proto-Norse and Old Norse features of (Classical) Elfdalian, the interest in Dalecarlian, and more specifically Elfdalian, demonstrated by scholars and students in the seventeenth century is hardly surprising. It was expressed through the publication of linguistic essays on Elfdalian, as well as wedding poems in Elfdalian and a play partially in Elfdalian in the seventeenth century, mostly by people from outside Övdaln. In the seventeenth century, such publications became more feasible due to the introduction of the art of printing.

[29] For instance, Carl Linnaeus (Linné 1734 [2004]) tells as about the use of runes during his visit to Övdaln: 'The farmers here in the parish, besides using runic calendar sticks, still today write their names and owner's marks with runic letters, which are visible on walls, net weights, bowls etc., a custom unknown to be practised any more elsewhere in Sweden.' The last attested runes elsewhere in Sweden are from Gotland from 1621.

furnace used for iron production, known from today's Sweden from as early as the seventh century BCE. The last known melting conducted with the help of bloomery in Sweden is attested from Nornäs in Övdaln as late as 1871 (Arkeologisk undersökning 2020, 14).[30]

Attempts to classify Dalecarlian linguistically face several challenges. The first is the difficulty of navigating between a phylogenetic model based on (implicitly standard) North Germanic *languages* on the one hand and North Germanic *dialects* on the other. These two dimensions are rather different, as standard languages, for example in the case of Scandinavia, often coincide with political or administrative borders, whereas dialect groups do not. For this reason, even the term 'Dalecarlian' may be misleading in this sense.[31] Secondly, the origin of Dalecarlian was implicitly assumed from a phylogenetic analysis. For instance, Dalecarlian could be defined as a sub-branch of the Sveamål dialect group, which would imply that Dalecarlian branched off from the Sveamål group. However, due to the lack of written records from the early history of Dalecarlian and its neighbouring dialects, diachrony and synchrony can easily be mixed up with each other and challenge this type of assumption. The third challenge lies in the importance of written and/or standard norms, which do not always reflect the spoken language of the area where texts were produced. Fourthly, there is a lack of written records from Dalarna prior to the fourteenth century (when they are still scarce). Written records from Dalecarlian that are sufficiently long for substantial linguistic analysis are virtually non-existent prior to the seventeenth century. Fifthly, conclusions about Proto-Norse based on material from one area were sometimes generalised to the whole Proto-Norse-speaking area.[32] Finally, classifying dialect groups located on a dialect continuum is a rather challenging task, and such a classification requires explicit methodology. As Gooskens (2020, 766) points out, the motivation for Bandle's ([1973] 2011) selection of isoglosses for the classification of the North Germanic dialects is rather subjective and remains unclear.

[30] According to Heed (1978, 38), Eastern Dalarna, and more specifically Övdaln, were important centres of bog iron production up to modern times.

[31] Noreen (1903) identifies merely Upper Siljan Dalecarlian as 'Dalecarlian in the narrow sense', whereas Levander (1925) identifies Western Dalecarlian, Lower Siljan and UpSD as three branches of the Dalecarlian group.

[32] According to Dahl (2001, 224ff), based on Krause (1966), the current predominant picture of Proto-Norse is biased, as the available material from that period, written in the Old Futhark in the form of runic inscription or bracteates from Swedish provinces (excluding Gotland, the Scanian provinces and Bohuslän), is relatively scarce: none until 400 CE (compared with 22 in total from other regions), and merely 12 from the period 400–800 CE (compared with 77 from other regions).

According to this hypothesis, Classical Dalecarlian constitutes a separate sub-branch of the Nordic languages within the North Scandinavian dialect continuum, taking into account the influence from both the west and north-west and from the east and south-east and the idiosyncratic features of Dalecarlian – strong conservatism on the one hand and strong innovation on the other. More systematic linguistic research is deemed necessary to establish a thesis on the position of Dalecarlian within the North Germanic language family.

Due to influences from both west and east, an attempt to force Dalecarlian into the west/east dichotomy of the North Germanic languages appears demanding. A classification of the Nordic languages and dialects into insular and mainland Nordic and of the mainland Nordic languages into North (Sweden, Norway and Swedish Finland) on the one hand and South (Denmark) on the other, as proposed by Torp (2004), appears more appropriate for the classification of Dalecarlian.

1.3.4 Periodisation

This periodisation of Elfdalian takes the following stages into account: Old Dalecarlian, a common UpSD stage, and finally two Elfdalian stages – a classical as well as a modern one. Although three sub-branches of the Dalecarlian ('Dalecarlian Proper') branch are acknowledged, when discussing Old Dalecarlian in this chapter, the focus is mainly on UpSD and Elfdalian, as there is no evidence that an Old Dalecarlian has in fact existed as a phylogenetic ancestor of these three sub-branches (see also Section 1.1 and Levander 1925: 38). However, it is believed that Dalecarlian was spoken in a larger area towards the south and south-east of the Lower Siljan region (see also Section 1.3.3 and Björklund 1956: 1f). Again, lack of data leaves us without a clear picture of the historic development of this branch.

Periodisations of Elfdalian language history have been proposed by Levander, Nyström and Sapir (2005), Garbacz (2010) and Nyström and Sapir (2018). Differently from previous periodisasations, the current periodisation suggests an earlier time-limit for the emergence of Late Proto-Norse in Dalarna. In contrast to Garbacz (2010), the current periodisation contains no transition period between Classical and Modern Elfdalian, and *c.* 1900 is considered a crucial watershed between the two latter periods: the former is embodied by a relatively stable language system in a predominantly monolingual speech community, whereas the latter is embodied by a language system undergoing constant, gradual and considerable changes in an ever more bilingual speech community, where Swedish rather swiftly becomes the predominant language at the cost of

Elfdalian (see, further, Section 1.3.4.8). Efforts to revitalise the language since the 1980s bring back some old features to the language and likewise introduce new words. This chapter suggests the following four language stages:

1) Old Dalecarlian (Late Proto-Norse and Old Norse): sixth to eighth century–thirteenth century
2) Old Upper Siljan Dalecarlian: fourteenth–fifteenth century
3) Classical Elfdalian: sixteenth century–*c.* 1899
4) Modern Elfdalian: *c.* 1900–

1.3.4.1 Old Dalecarlian (Late Proto-Norse and Old Norse) (sixth to eighth century–thirteenth century)

According to the hypotheses introduced in Sections 1.3.2 and 1.3.3 (see also further in this section), Late Proto-Norse reached Dalarna in the sixth and the middle of the eighth centuries century CE and evolved into an independent North Germanic variety sometime between the sixth and the twelfth centuries.[33] In the thirteenth century, the diphthongisation of *ī*, *ū* and *ȳ*, potentially a Dalecarlian innovation, was still productive but ceased to be productive in the fourteenth century, a period which also marks a beginning of a relative linguistic stagnation for Dalecarlian (see Levander 1925, 43). Lexical material ultimately from Latin and Greek entered Dalecarlian during this period through the introduction of Christianity among the Dalecarlian-speaking population of Dalarna.

This section presents more details about the different layers of archaisms and innovations that are attested in Dalecarlian. Examples are usually provided in the footnotes.

As mentioned in Section 1.3.3, Old Dalecarlian inherited some archaic features from Late Proto-Germanic, which persisted in Elfdalian and partially in some other UpSD varieties at least up to the nineteenth century, sometimes resisting innovations from both the west/north-west and the south-east.[34] However, as a peripheral

[33] According to Dahl (2001, 221), it is probable that the introduction of the Germanic language in Scandinavia was a long process which continued among some non-centralised groups until *c.* 500 CE. A finer division is not feasible due to the absence of written records in Dalecarlian or any later records of known word forms from this period.

[34] Some archaic features preserved in UpSD from Ancient Norse, differently from all or almost all North Germanic varieties, include the following: (a) vowel nasality, which was attested in twelfth-century Icelandic, but which apparently became extinct there around the same period (see Árnason 2005, 327f; Williams 1990, 28ff), e.g. Ancient Norse **lamsa-* 'lock' (Kroonen 2013,

region between two centres of powers – Norway to the west and the north-west, and Mälardalen/Uppland to the south and the south-east – some linguistic innovations originating in the south-east (that is, from Uppland (mainly Vendel-Gamla Uppsala) in today's Sweden), spread to the north-west, to Trøndelag in today's Norway, passing through Dalarna, processes that took place mainly between the eighth and the eleventh centuries.[35] Likewise, some linguistic innovations from the (south)-west

326), Elfd. *lås*; (b) the lack of *w*-breaking and/or *w*-mutation, as in **singwan-* 'to sing' (Kroonen 2013, 437), **sinkwan-* 'to sink' (Kroonen 2013, 437), **bewwa-* 'yield; barley', Elfd. *singga*, *sikka* and *begg*, respectively (Schalin 2018, 49–53, views this feature as innovation in Dalecarlian and Gutnish and uses this to argue on phonological grounds that Dalecarlian and Gutnish branched off from Ancient Norse in the sixth century CE at the latest); (c) the old syllable quantity, with a short, long and overlong syllable length; (d) the Ancient Norse voiced bilabial affricate was attested in Elfdalian at the beginning of the twentieth century (Noreen 1903, 415), as in Proto-Germanic **habēn-* (Kroonen 2013, 197) (where *b* was probably pronounced as /ɸ/) > Elfd. *åvå* (where *v* was pronounced as /ɔɸɔ/ in Ąsär Elfdalian, according to Noreen (1903, 415)). This can be further confirmed by the occurrence of /b/ as a sporadic allomorph of /*v*/ in morpheme borders among speakers with a more conservative pronunciation of Modern Elfdalian, e.g. *Övdaln* 'Övdaln', pronounced by some as [ˈœbˌdɑːln] (< *öve* 'river' + *dal* 'valley') and *ovde* 'head.DAT', pronounced by some as [ˈòbːde] with *ovuð* as its basic form (see also Section 2.2.2); (e) similarly to other Eastern Swedish varieties, Dalecarlian most often resisted the western innovation of *u*-umlaut of /a/, e.g. Elfd./Swe. *strand* 'beach', as opposed to Old West Norse *strǫnd* (< Proto-Germanic **strandô*); (f) in terms of morphology and syntax, Ringmar (2005) shows partial similarities between Elfdalian, Faroese and Icelandic concerning the case inflection of nouns, adjectives and numerals, as well as the gender inflection of the numerals two to four, verb declension for person, as well as the governance of the dative case by some verbs. In that sense, Elfdalian behaves as one of the most conservative Nordic varieties; (g) the second person plural verb suffix *-ið*, replaced by *-in* or *-ir* in Swedish and Danish dialects (cf. the equivalent suffixes **-th₁e* Proto Indo-European and *-þ* in Gothic). Björklund (1956, 103ff) considers this suffix to be a contraction of *-in* with the pronoun *ið* 'you.PL' in Dalecarlian); (h) in terms of syntax, Garbacz and Johannessen (2015, 17) mention several features that Elfdalian shares with Insular Nordic languages which appear to be archaic, such as embedded V-to-I movement (as in *eð ir biln so an will int åvå* 'it is the car that he doesn't want to have') as well as present participle construction expressing modality (as in *wattneð ir it drikkend* 'the water may not or should not be drunk'). Besides Icelandic, this construction (elsewhere called 'gerundive') with a similar use is also known from Sanskrit, Old Persian, Classical Greek and Latin; (h) in terms of lexicon, the Elfdalian word for 'elk', *brinde*, is only known in one other Germanic variety, the Norwegian word *bringe* 'male elk' (both go back to Proto-Germanic **brinda(n)* 'elk'). It is, moreover, known from Latvian *breidis* 'deer' (Kroonen 2013, 77).

[35] According to Hesselman (1948, referring to Shetelig), there is strong archaeological evidence for influence from Vendel in Uppland on Trøndelag in Norway in the form of sword ornamentations, gilded fittings and other jewels dating back to the eighth and ninth centuries. These connections, primarily with Trøndelag, are believed to have been strong and to have comprised Swedish migration to that territory. The period between the sixth and ninth centuries is called the 'Vendel Period' (Swe. *vendeltiden*) due to the economic prosperity and the remote connections of this region in Uppland. For example, (a) according to Minugh (1985), the Dalecarlian loss of /h/ is believed to have its origin in Uppland. A loss of /h/ becomes frequent in eleventh-century runestones in Uppland. The use of the letter <h> in seventeenth-century Elfdalian texts is believed to be hypercorrect or 'etymologising' (see Björklund 1956, 75, 88, citing Noreen, and Ringmar and Steensland 2011, 69). Bandle (2011, 50ff) demonstrates several eastern

to the north-east – mainly from Rogaland and Hordaland – spread to the easternmost Scandinavian language areas around the twelfth century.[36] Moreover, Dalecarlian shares some phonological,[37] morphological,

phonological innovations, also identifiable in Dalecarlian, such as (b) the breaking of /e/ in some conditions, as in Elfd. *stjälå* 'steal' (cf. ON *stela*), where Swedish has *stjäla*, Elfd. *jäld* 'fire' (cf. ON *eldr*), Swe. *eld*; (c) the progressive j-umlaut occurs when *a* is concerned, but not *o*, e.g. Elfd. *järta* 'heart' and *iemn* 'even (adjective)' (cf. ON *hjarta* and *jafn*, respectively), Swe. *hjärta* and *jämn*, respectively, but Elfd. *mjok* 'milk' and *sju* 'lake' (cf. East ON *mjólk/mjolk* and *sjór* 'sea'), respectively, Swe. *mjölk* and *sjö* 'lake'; (d) the assimilation of Ancient Norse *b̄n* to *mn*, e.g. Elfd. *iemn* 'even (adjective)' from ON *jafn*. Moreover, the following influences, perhaps from Uppland, can be identified: (e) the insertion of /b/ between /m/ and /l/ or /r/, an innovation in Old Swedish (*c.* thirteenth to fourteenth century, see Wessén 1968, 51), e.g. Elfd. *gamblan* 'old.M.ACC.SG', thirteenth- to fourteenth-century Swedish *gamblan* (cf. ON *gamlan*); Hesselman (1905) likewise cites archaisms from Uppländska vernaculars, which lasted at least up to the end of the nineteenth century, and which coincide with Elfdalian (some of which are also known to have covered larger territories in earlier periods), such as (f) preserved /i/ in open stressed syllabled, such as *lidugär*, Elfd. *liðug*, but Swe. *ledig* 'free, vacant'; (g) preserved short /y/ before /r/, as in *syrja*, Elfd. *syra* (cf. ON *syrja*), but Swe. *sörja* 'to mourn'; and likewise innovations such as (h) the development of a supine form of *s*-passive forms with a post-dental vowel in the suffix, e.g. *bygdas(t)* 'built', which sometimes occurs likewise in Elfdalian, cf. Elfd. *syntas* 'seen', but Swe. *byggts, synts.*, respectively; (i) the diphthongisation of /ē/ into /ie/, as in *ien*, Elfd. *ien* 'one' (cf. ON *einn*); Dahl (2015: 63) cites (j) the expression *sêttâ jêll'n* 'put fire.DEF', recorded from a man born in 1880 in Alunda, Uppland, where the breaking of short /e/ is present, as well as the definite form of the word *jêll* 'fire' in non-delimited use (for term, see also Section 3.1.3.2), cf. Eld. *addum jäldn* 'we had fire.DEF'.

[36] By the thirteenth century, some western innovations had reached the eastern parts of the Scandinavian Peninsula (see Bandle 2011, 24), for example (a) the change *nnr* > *ðr* took place in western dialects in the eleventh century at the earliest (Noreen 1913, 95), whereas eastern varieties usually have *nn* or *ndr*, as in Late Proto-Norse **finnR* 'find; feel.PRS.3SG' > Elfd. *fið*.PRS.SG 'find', Swe. *finner*.PRS 'find', Late Proto-Norse **annra-* 'the other (of two), the second', Elfd. *oðer*, Swe. *andra* with the same meaning. (b) According to Moberg (1944, 205), nasal assimilation of *mp*, *nk*, *nt* > *pp*, *kk*, *tt*, respectively, is a Norwegian innovation which took place in Norway in the eighth century, or in the first half of the ninth century at the latest, from which it spread to the whole West Nordic area and, to a limited extent, also to the East Nordic area. This type of nasal assimilation used to be present in a larger area in today's Sweden but increased probably due to influence from Standard Swedish. This nasal assimilation is common in Dalecarlian, as in Elfd. *uott*, Swe. *vante* 'glove' (cf. ON *vǫttr*) and Elfd. *sopp*, Swe. *svamp* 'fungus; mushroom' (cf. ON *svampr* (western variant), *svǫppr* (eastern variant)). (c) **lēa* 'scythe' > *ljá*, Elfd. *ljå*, Swe. *lie* (disyllabic); (d) the assimilation of *rs* > *ss*, e.g. Elfd. *fuoss*, Swe. *fors* 'waterfall; stream, torrent' (cf. ON *fors*). (e) Bandle (2011) also mentions some lexical features shared by Dalecarlian and large areas of West Scandinavian, e.g. the innovative Elfd. *soð* (Nor. *sau*) as a generic word for 'sheep'.

[37] Bandle (2011, 112ff) identifies some phonological North Scandinavian innovations which are also shared with Dalecarlian, including Elfdalian, for example (a) the palatalisation of non-initial velar consonants, e.g. Elfd. *mitjið* /mit͡ɕið/ 'much' (cf. ON *mikit*); (b) the so-called 'thick l' (occurring in Northern Sweden and Eastern Norway), pronounced in Elfdalian as an alveolar approximant [l] or a retroflex flap [ɽ], as in Elfd. *laime* [ɽɑi̯me] 'broom' (see also Section 2.2.3) (cf. ON *lími*); (c) the omission or the weakening of final short *n* and *t* in an unstressed position, e.g. Elfd. *suolę* [sʉ́əɽ̃ɛ̃] 'the sun' (cf. ON *sólin*), and *werið* 'been' (supine) (cf. ON *verit*); (d) *sl*, *tl* > *sl* ([l̥], [l̥͡l]), e.g. Elfd. *lisl-/lissl-* (pronounced /lil̥/ and /lil̥l/, or /lisl/ and /lis:l/, respectively) 'little'

syntactic[38] and lexical[39] innovations with other members of the North Scandinavian dialect sub-branch outside of Dalarna, mainly with Norrlandic dialects. Elfdalian, and partially other UpSD/Dalecarlian varieties, demonstrate some local innovations, although their dating is sometimes insecure due to the lack of a considerable amount of written records prior to the seventeenth century.[40]

The first historic reference to Northern Dalarna is in a thirteenth-century tale about a visit by the Norwegian Sverre Sigurðsson, who wished

(cf. ON *litl-*); (e) vowel balance, by which the syllable length sometimes determines the suffix vowel, e.g. Elfd. *eri* 'hare', where the suffix *-i* is determined by the short root syllable *er-*, as opposed to Elfd. *brinde* 'elk', where the suffix *-e* is determined by the long root syllable *(br)ind-*syllable; (f) vowel harmony, by which assimilation between the root vowel and the suffix vowel takes place, e.g. Elfd. *åmår* 'hammer' (cf. ON *hamarr*), and *yvyr* 'over' (cf. ON *yfir*).

[38] Some examples of morphological and syntactic innovations in Elfdalian shared with other North Scandinavian vernaculars are (a) the use of the suffixed definite, which has its earliest manifestations in twelfth-century Icelandic and in thirteenth-century Swedish, as well as in other varieties in the whole North Germanic language area (Dahl 2015, 34 ff), and which we also find in Elfdalian at least since the sixteenth century; (b) the neutralisation of indefinite and definite forms of the noun in a part of the paradigm, e.g. Elfd. *flugur* 'flies; the flies', as well as *kaller* 'men; the men' in some local subvarieties of Elfdalian. Besides in Dalecarlian, this phenomenon also exists in some North Germanic varieties in Finland, Estonia, Värmland and Norrland (Dahl 2015, 39 ff); (c) generic use of definite, e.g. Elfd. *grånär irå gryöner* 'spruces.DEF are green'. Besides in Dalecarlian, this phenomenon also exists in Upper Norrland, Värmland, southern Finland and northern Norway; (d) a non-delimited use of the definites (for term, see Section 3.1.3.3), e.g. Elfd. *eð ir krippär aute* 'there are children.DEF outside'. This phenomenon appears to be shared by Dalecarlian, all varieties in Norrland and some varieties in Värmland (Dahl 2015, 43 ff); (e) definite form for non-count nouns, e.g. Elfd. *ig al werm mjotję* 'I will warm up milk.DEF', i.e. 'I will warm up some milk'. Dalecarlian shares this phenomenon with other varieties in Jämtland, in some other parts of Norrland and in some parts of Uppland. This syntactic innovation is recorded in Dalecarlian in the seventeenth century (Dahl 2015, 49 ff); (f) adjective incorporation, i.e. ad hoc compounds consisting of adjectives + nouns, e.g. Elfd. *wåtjakką* 'the wet jacket' (cf. *ję wåt jakka* 'a wet jacket').

[39] On the lexical level, two pronouns appear common for dialects in a large dialect area of Swedish Finland and Estonia, as well as in some North Scandinavian dialects, i.e. (a) Elfd. *eð*, other dialects *he* or *ä* 'it' (< Old Norse þæt), whereas Standard Swedish has *det*; (b) Elfd. *isin* or *isn*, other dialects *hisin/isin* 'this.M.NOM.SG' (see Reinhammar 1975), where Standard Swedish has *den* or *denne/denna*; (c) the adverb and particle *att/atte* 'again; back' has cognates at least in some western parts of the North Scandinavian area, as well as West Scandinavian, whereas Standard Swedish has *igen*.

[40] Several local innovations can be mentioned: (a) the diphthongisation of Late Proto-Norse/Old Norse *ī*, *ū* and *ȳ* into UpSD > *ei/äi* and *ou/åu* is one of the most prominent UpSD phonological innovations, which can be dated back to the thirteenth century at the earliest (Levander 1925, 39) but cannot be dated further back in time due to lack of written records. It is, however, interesting to note that South Proto-Sámi has diphthongs *ov* or *uv* (pronounced as /ow/ and /uw/, respectively) in loanwords originating in Proto-Norse for Proto-Norse *ū*, such as buvre 'storage house' (cf. Elfdalian *baur* and Old Dalecarlian **båur* or **bour* (< Proto-Norse *būr* 'storage house') (see also Piha 2018). (b) Among syntactic innovations in Elfdalian, Rosenkvist (2014) mentions referential null subjects, double negation and subject doubling. There are no available data as to the age of these innovations.

to become the King of Norway, who passed through 'Járnberaland' (lit. 'the land of the iron bearers' or 'transporters' (Hyenstrand 1972, 13)) on his journey,[41] which supposedly took place in 1177. According to the story, Járnberaland was still 'heathen' at the time.[42]

As to permanent settlements in Övdaln, tombs in the Övdaln village of Blibjärr (Swe. Blyberg) suggest that a more or less permanent settlement from the time before the Christianisation of the region was established. The first village in Övdaln recorded in writing is Brunnsbjärr (Swe. Brunnsberg), mentioned in the thirteenth century (Solders 1936).

1.3.4.2 Old Upper Siljan Dalecarlian (fourteenth–fifteenth century)

The fourteenth century is characterised as a period of relative stagnation in the linguistic influences from outside of Dalecarlian. At the same time, the dialectal diversification within Dalecarlian continued until the middle of the twentieth century (see also Section 1.1). Moreover, the productivity of the diphthongisation of *ī*, *ū* and *ȳ* (a phenomenon ascribed to Eastern Dalecarlian, that is, Lower and Upper Siljan Dalecarlian) came to a halt. Swedish lexical elements, including some Low German elements mediated by Swedish,[43] entered Old UpSD in negligible amounts to begin with from the fourteenth century onwards. The relative halt in influences from outside appears to be associated with the economic and political decline of Norway and Sweden (see also Section 1.3.3 and Levander 1925, 43), two important sources of linguistic innovations and influences on Dalecarlia until then.

By 1248, Northern Dalarna had been Christian for about five decades. However, the Norse Asatru religion, which dominated in the

[41] Although Old Norse sagas are usually not considered reliable historical sources, and although the narrative in this was influenced by Sverre's own narrative, the journey through Járnberaland and the description of the place can be regarded as reliable due to the closeness in time to its documentation (merely 100 years after the journey should have taken place and an event that cannot be said to favour Sverre's own narrative). The story in the saga states, 'Járnberaland is under the rule of the King of the Swedes, and it was a heathen land at that time. Its people had never before set eyes on a king, and they were unaccustomed to the visits of kings. It might even be said, there was not one among them that understood what king's men were or knew whether they were men or animals' (Saga Sverris konúngs 1834). Sverre passed through the same territory some years later. Hyenstrand (1974, 197, 214) raises arguments that the location of Járnberaland could have been further to the north, but finally concludes that it was in Northern Dalarna according to the described route. Heed (1978, 38) identifies Járnberaland as the Upper Siljan region of Dalarna according to the distances cited in the story. Heed (1978, 38) identifies this place as Eastern Dalarna (i.e. the Lower or Upper Siljan region) due to the descriptions in the saga, including distances between the points in Sverre's journey.

[42] Apart from the inhabitants of Járnberaland, among Sweden's inhabitants at that time, probably only Sámis and Finns were not yet Christianised at that time.

[43] As well as a few Greek and Latin elements through the church.

Confederation of Swedish Provinces until around the end of the eleventh century, does not appear to have reached Järnberaland (see Section 1.3.4.1). Norse deities appear to have been absent from local storytelling and place-name tradition, where nature spirits appear to have been far more frequent (Stefan Jacobsson, personal communication, March 1, 2023). A natural cultural border is constituted by *limes norrlandicus*, running to the south and south-east of Dalarna, thus uniting it with Norrland on the one hand and distinguishing it from Uppland and the Mälardalen region to the south/south-east on the other hand.[44]

Starting around the thirteenth century, Eastern Dalecarlian (embracing Lower and Upper Siljan Dalecarlian) can be more clearly discerned, as Eastern Dalecarlian appears to diphthongise *ī*, *ū* and *ȳ*, a development that did not persist in Lower Siljan Dalecarlian, probably reinstating the old monphthongs as a result of dialect levelling.

In the thirteenth century, administrative borders turned Orsa into the only parish in the Upper Siljan region. Around the fourteenth century, some Swedish lexical elements, including Low German elements mediated by Swedish,[45] entered Old UpSD in negligible amounts.

1.3.4.3 Classical Elfdalian (sixteenth century–c. 1900)

Övdaln became an independent parish in 1586, thus increasing the number of parishes in the Upper Siljan region to three, alongside Orsa and Mora (see Figure 1.2). Administrative borders with Mora probably accelerated the linguistic disassociation with the vernaculars of that parish, to which Övdaln had belonged until that year. Between 1645 and 1651, the former Norwegian parishes of Särna and Idre were annexed to Sweden, and in 1971, these three parishes were united in a new administrative unit, the municipality of Älvdalen.

From the seventeenth century, there are more written records in all three main UpSD varieties, Elfdalian, Moramål and Orsamål, but chiefly in the first. These varieties mainly appear in the form of wedding poems. Elfdalian is moreover recorded in some runic inscriptions, as well as in some passages in Andreas Johannis Prytz's play *En Lustigh Comoedia om Konung Gustaf Then Första* ('An amusing play about King Gustaf the First') from 1622. These published records can be placed thanks to the

[44] For instance, this border constitutes the southern limit of the transhumance system, that is, the seasonal movement of cattle (Swe. *fäbodväsendet*), which was practised until the middle of the twentieth century in Northern Dalarna (Dahl 2015, 12). This husbandry could be a relic from the hunter-gatherer culture.

[45] As well as a few Greek and Latin elements through the church.

introduction of printing techniques to Sweden at the end of the fifteenth century (Gustavson 2004; Sapir 2005).

Johan Eenberg's two essays about Dalecarlian from 1693 and 1702, as well as Reinhold Näsman's *Historiola lingvæ dalekarlicæ* 'History of the Dalecarlian language' from 1733, 'the first published dialectological dissertation' in Sweden,[46] demonstrated a scholarly interest in Dalecarlian already in that period (Ringmar 2011; Ringmar and Steensland 2011). In these sources, the three varieties of UpSD (i.e. those of Mora, Orsa and Övdaln) are described as three distinct 'dialects' of the same language. UpSD varieties continued to split from each other, sometimes down to the village level, in the decades and centuries to come. This can be explained by the low degree of mobility and natural, as well as administrative, barriers.

The conservatism of Elfdalian is also manifested by the retention of the old accent pattern, consisting of two melodic accents: a grave with two tops, and an acute with one top. The remaining UpSD vernaculars, on the other hand, shifted to the Dalecarlian pattern, with one top in both types of accents: a late top on the grave, and an early top on the acute (Olander 2011).

Several lexical features in Prytz's piece from 1622 (published in Björklund 1956) are clearly Elfdalian.[47] The name *Kietelogs Lasse* contains the word *kietelog*, *ketilog* in LCE and Modern Elfdalian, which is the common word for 'cleg' and follows the typical Dalecarlian name tradition with a farm name as the first element; *nogär* 'some.M.NOM.SG' is typical for Elfdalian, and has the same form in LCE; *diö* 'because' (< *eð* 'it.DAT.SG') is also known from LCE and Modern Elfdalian in the form *diö/dyö*, but appears to have been lost in the Orsa and Mora varieties of the same period. Dalecarlian lexicon in general, and Elfdalian in particular, appear to differ greatly from other Scandinavian varieties.[48]

As to phonological aspects: the Elfdalian diphthong [ɑi̯] (as it is to date) appears to have evolved from earlier [æi̯]~[ei̯] in around 1750,

[46] Näsman's dissertation, partially based on Eenberg's essays, has been criticised for including some unreliable data and can hence not be regarded as 'scholarly'. However, it contains a dialogue in Elfdalian from that time which is supposedly reliable and constitutes the first record of colloquial Elfdalian.

[47] Further study is necessary in order to achieve a just comparison of these features.

[48] Further study is necessary about this subject. However, Dahl (2005) can be used as a point of reference in this context. In his study, Dahl compared Swadesh's word list of a hundred words, regarded as 'stable' in languages, between Swedish and some other varieties and showed that the Elfdalian words forms differ from Swedish approximately as much as the Icelandic words. Compared to these, Bokmål Swedish, a Lower Siljan variety and a West Dalecarlian variety were lexically closer to Swedish (Dahl 2005, 35ff).

originally going back to long [iː], whereas the diphthong [æi̯] is still preserved in Mora to date. Long [ʉː] appears to have evolved into [ɑʉ̯] (as it is to date) in Elfdalian already by 1668, whereas it was recorded as an [oʉ̯] in 1622. In Orsamål and Moramål, the evolution into [ɑʉ̯] is recorded earlier (Björklund 1956, 61ff). Eenberg's comparison of a translation of a biblical text into the three main UpSD varieties shows that Elfdalian drops [h] frequently, as opposed to the two other varieties, and likewise preserves the dative form of the demonstrative pronoun *eð* 'it', that is *dyö*, which appears to be lacking in the two others.[49]

Elfdalian further evolved during the period between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries, as the apocope became more frequent and there were also changes on the lexical and phraseological level. However, owing to the lack of long written records from this period, it is difficult to break this period into smaller periods or provide a more complete description of it. The last phase of Classical Elfdalian, that is LCE, described in Levander (1909a, 1909b, 1925, 1928) and Åkerberg and Nyström (2012), is the one described in this book.

As mentioned in Section 1.1, the split of UpSD into various dialects is reportedly the most radical in the whole North Germanic language area. Mutual intelligibility between inhabitants of the three parishes of Upper Siljan was not always easy and was at times virtually impossible when Elfdalian was the target language, as described by Björklund (1956). Among the vastly varied parish vernaculars spoken in Upper Dalarna, the dialect of Övdaln has an absolutely special position. Even to people in the closest neighbouring parishes, Elfdalian may at times appear both archaic and difficult to understand.

Olander (2011) indicates challenges in understanding Elfdalian for speakers of the neighbouring vernacular of Orsamål, one of the most closely related vernaculars to Elfdalian: besides the prosodic differences, the vocalism, and more specifically the diphthongs, can be rather different, and sometimes also some basic words. Further, the apocope and the shift from /ð/ into /r/, which sometimes takes place in some Elfdalian varieties, two innovations common to both varieties, are manifested differently in both varieties and hence constitute obstacles in understanding Elfdalian for Orsamål-speakers, even on a basic level.

[49] From Prytz's piece it is difficult to conclude whether some occurrences of historically short <n> in final positions actually represent [n] or are a result of historic spelling, as [n] in such positions is known to have been omitted at least as late as in LCE, leaving the previous vowel nasal instead, e.g. ⟨hon⟩ LCE/Modern Elfdalian > ⟨ą̊⟩.

Besides the peripheral position of Dalarna, especially after the decline of Norway and Sweden in the fourteenth century, the remoteness of Övdaln has probably also contributed to the linguistic idiosyncrasy of Elfdalian: the distances from Northern Dalarna to the North Sea in the west and to the Baltic Sea to the east are considerable. The region, moreover, is characterised by high mountains and dense forests, rendering communications, and hence linguistic influences, more difficult. Travelling and trade were usually limited to the beginning and the end of the winter, when it was possible to slide horse carriages on the soft snow. Labour mobility to other parts of Sweden had been going on for some centuries. However, this mobility usually took the shape of groups of people working in mansions, which probably did not affect Elfdalian considerably (see also Heed 1978).

According to Levander (1925, 39), the dialect circumstances of Upper Siljan as a whole had not changed considerably since the sixteenth century, until, as he puts it, the 'mechanism of destruction of the past half century', implying growing dialect levelling and Swedish influence. He describes the situation of Elfdalian as rather 'stable' until as late as the end of the nineteenth century. Levander refers to the facts that the sociolinguistic situation had changed little during this period, and that linguistic changes were relatively minor.

1.3.4.4 Dalecarlian runes

In Dalarna, and especially in Övdaln, runes were used in shorter inscriptions on wooden objects, such as buildings, bowls or drinking vessels.[50] The inscriptions typically contained messages concerning the work that went into making the object, or names, dates and so on. Fridell (2022) suggests that the runic writing tradition in Dalarna, and later mainly in Övdaln, had been used continuously since the Old Viking Age.[51] A chronological table of various forms of Dalecarlian runes is provided in Figure 1.4.

Dalecarlian runes are known since 1599. The runic text carved in Elfdalian on the chair from Lillhärdal from *c.* 1600 transliterates as follows: '*uer.og.en.sir.fost.å <n>.ed.han.har.siuofe.gart.feld.han.strafuer. ed.ig.har.ga<r>t*'. This translates as: 'everyone first looks at what he has done himself before he criticises what I have done' (Björklund 1994, 36).

As Swedish was generally conceived as the standard language that was fit for writing, most runic inscriptions from Övdaln are in Swedish, sometimes

[50] See note 14.

[51] This contradicts Gustavson's (2004) thesis, according to which a reorganisation of the runic alphabet took place at the end of the sixteenth century, thus resulting in a runic renaissance in the Upper Siljan region (see also Sapir 2005).

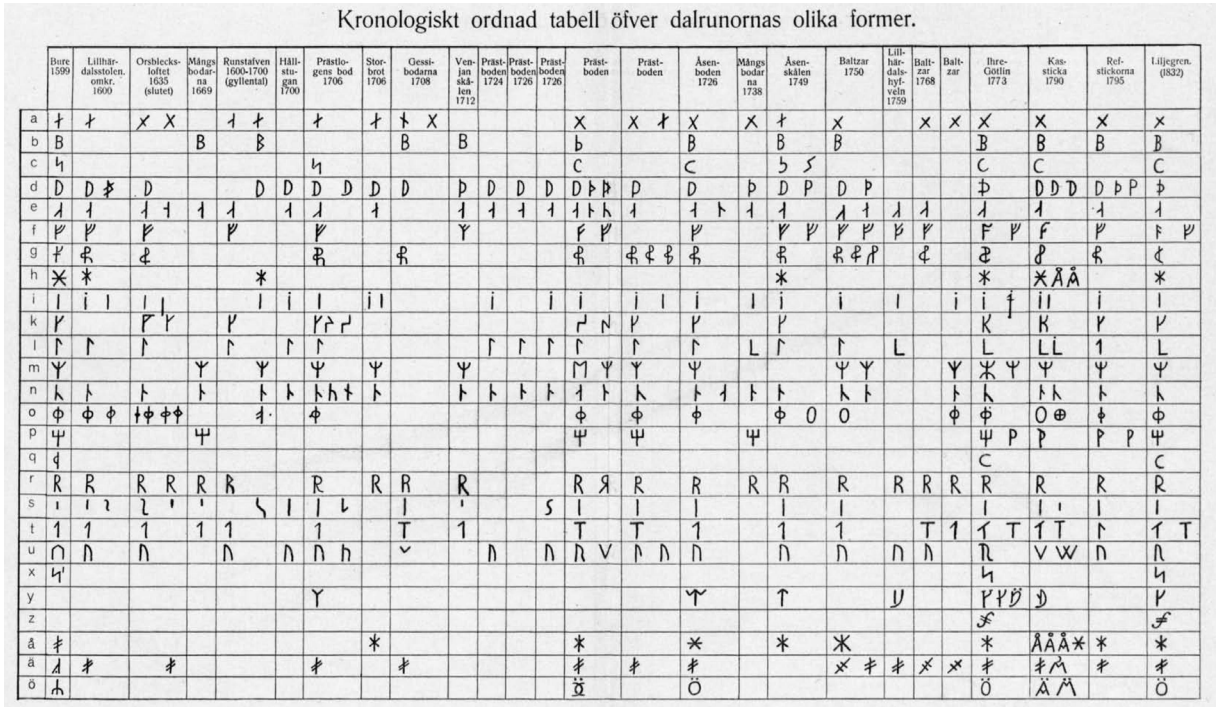

Figure 1.4 Chronological table of different forms of Dalecarlian runes.
Source: Boëthius et al. (1906).

with a local Elfdalian influence. However, inscriptions, especially early ones, are in Elfdalian. In the first half of the nineteenth century, with increased literacy and the increased use of pen and paper, Dalecarlian runes developed growing similarities to Latin letters, so by the end of the Dalecarlian runic period just two original runes remained among Latinised runes.

Dalecarlian runes were used in Övdaln until 1909 (and possibly even until 1926), being recorded in the two letters ⟨g⟩ and ⟨ä⟩ within the sentence *HULDAPD gäT 1909* (transcribed into the current orthography: *Hulda PD gę'tt 1909* 'Hulda Persdotter grazed in 1909' (Jans et al. 2015)). As such, Övdaln is the last place in the world where runes were used. In other parts of Sweden, runes became obsolete as early as the fourteenth century, with the exception of Gotland, where they lived on until about 1630.

1.3.4.5 Modern Elfdalian (c. 1900–)

The Modern Elfdalian period begins with people born after 1900.[52] The influence of Swedish on the Elfdalian spoken in the village of Åsär in around 1909 was reported as 'hardly' present 'at all' on the phonological level, and 'extremely insignificant' on the morphological and syntactical level, but 'more powerful' on the lexical level (Levander 1909b, 42). Åsär was probably one of the linguistically most conservative villages in Övdaln, with the chief village, Tjyörtjbynn (Swe. Kyrkbyn),[53] being the linguistically most innovative one and the one most exposed to Swedish influence. This influence increased gradually throughout the whole Elfdalian-speaking area in the decades to come (see also Hultgren 1983; Levander 1909b, 1925; Sapir 2005, 2017). Modern Elfdalian has been changing swiftly, and a counter-reaction to the decrease in language domains, language skills and an increase in the influence from Swedish, in the form of language protection, standardisation and revitalisation based on LCE, can be observed since the 1980s.

In Tjyörtjbynn, the gradual language shift had begun to take place by about 1900, entailing domain loss or language shift to Swedish on the one hand and a Swedish-language influence on Elfdalian on the other. In the remaining villages, the shift to a Modern Elfdalian took place around 20 years later (see Björklund 1956, 4). Part of a global phenomenon, the shift was preceded by the introduction of modern technologies and communications, societal and economic changes, further strengthened by the compulsory schooling introduced in Sweden in 1842, as well as a

[52] For practical reasons, it will be treated as the period from *c.* 1900 onwards.
[53] Lit. 'the Church Village' (Swe. Kyrkbyn).

language policy that prioritised the majority language in literacy and in modern domains, and that simultaneously marginalised other language varieties. The first railway station opened in Övdaln in 1900, followed by the introduction of the telephone, radio and television. A new class of white-collar workers began to play an important role in Tjyörtjbynn, namely in the domains of clergy, administration, school, banking and trade. Except for being the language of school and church, the written and the formal language, Swedish acquired the position of a high-prestige spoken language among people native to Övdaln at the beginning of the twentieth century in Tjyörtjbynn. Elfdalian was stable for a longer time in the other villages, but also here gradual changes took place – a stronger influence from Swedish, a simplification of the Elfdalian language structure and a gradual language shift among some families into Swedish.[54] Migration and further exposure of the speech community to Swedish left Elfdalian as the low-prestige variety,[55] considered to be a dialect with no written standard and with no function in school or in the modern world.

This period, also called the 'revolution period' (Helgander 2004, 18–20), was characterised by the marginalisation of borders, owing to developments in all fields of life and a higher degree of mobility. This period also marked the clear end of the agrarian society. Intergenerational contacts decreased, the pressure from Swedish increased, and many families chose to raise their children in Swedish rather than in their own Elfdalian vernacular (Helgander 2004, 16ff).

As early as the 1930s, pleas were made to include Elfdalian in the school curriculum (Hultgren 1983, 37), pleas that to date have gained little attention and led to few concrete measures. Many native speakers of Elfdalian born before *c.* 1920 could not understand a word of Swedish before attending school. Further contributing factors to the language decline were the gradual closing of village schools between the 1960s and 2010, the concentration of the children into two main schools and the opening of state pre-schools in Övdaln during the 1970s and 1980s. As many children began to attend these pre-schools, they often stopped speaking Elfdalian.[56]

[54] Note that urbanisation from the villages in Övdaln to Tjyörtjbynn in the twentieth century actually strengthened Elfdalian in the otherwise predominantly Swedish-speaking Tjyörtjbynn several times until the 1970s.

[55] At the same time, waves of migration from the other villages in Övdaln to the chief village as late as in the 1970s reportedly strengthened Elfdalian in Tjyörtjbynn.

[56] Although their Elfdalian was structurally different from LCE, many people who grew up with Elfdalian before the pre-school era show strong Elfdalian on the lexical, phonological, prosodic and phraseological level, as well as in terms of fluency.

Hence, introduction of Swedish-language pre-schools marks the breach with the centuries-long continuity of intergenerational transmission of Elfdalian. The language decline manifested itself in the form of a decreased number of Elfdalian speakers, decreased Elfdalian language skills among its speakers and a decreased number of domains where the language was used.

Elfdalian speakers in the nineteenth century were reportedly either monolingual, if they did not have the habit of leaving the parish (usually women and children), or bilingual Elfdalian/Swedish, if they were mobile (usually adult males). In the first half of the twentieth century, that situation gradually shifted into Elfdalian/Swedish bilingualism among the whole population, and has since the second half of the twentieth century gradually been shifting further to becoming monolingual Swedish, and partially into a modern, rather fragmented individual or family-based type of Elfdalian.

In 1984, the grassroots association Ulum Dalska, föreningen för älvdalskans bevarande (Swedish for 'Let's speak Elfdalian, the Association for the Preservation of Elfdalian', henceforth Ulum Dalska), was established as a counter-reaction to the decrease in use of the Elfdalian language. Its aim was to preserve Elfdalian. Ever since, Ulum Dalska has been organising diverse activities that aim to maintain and revitalise the language, such as arranging *glåmåkwelder* 'conversation evenings', translation groups, producing pre-school materials and conversation guides, organising surveys among speakers and spreading information about Elfdalian. Likewise, Ulum Dalska has co-organised musicals, conferences, language courses and school activities, as well as assisting scholars who wish to study or document Elfdalian (Elfquist 2004). Furthermore, Elfdalian dictionaries and grammars began to be published. In 2004, academia and the municipality of Älvdalen also became engaged in the efforts towards Elfdalian language revitalisation, documentation and research, giving the language publicity on the national and international level. This has paved the way for academic conferences, scholarly publications, educational material and an academic course, as well as courses and workshops for the local population.

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, Elfdalian was only written sporadically, and almost exclusively in the annual magazine *Skansvakten*, lit. 'The fortlet's sentinel' (and even there only sporadically). For the most part, Swedish was the language used in written and official contexts. The spelling in *Skansvakten* was unstandardised, hence each writer used her or his idiosyncratic spelling. An exception to this sporadic use of written Elfdalian are the diaries by the porphyry cutter Frost Anders Andersson (1873–1954) from the 1940s, consisting of hundreds of pages

of LCE. However, as Frost Anders kept the diaries for himself, they were not read by his contemporaries. As mentioned in the Preface, they were not uncovered until 2013, and merely about a third of the material was published in 2017.

The first attempt to create a standard Elfdalian orthography was made by Lars Steensland in the first Elfdalian dictionary he published in 1986. Steensland's orthography used a modified form of an orthography he had introduced in a local newspaper a few years earlier. In the same year, the first prose book in Elfdalian, *Kunundsin kumb* ('The king is arriving') by Hjalmar Larsson, was published.[57] Bengt Åkerberg introduced another orthography in the 1990s, based on his village variety of Loka and used in his Elfdalian language courses: this included diacritics and extra letters, aimed at reflecting pronunciation as closely as possible, including phonological processes that changed pronunciation in inner-sentence position, thus resulting in an overload of crossings-out in texts, and therefore being difficult for speakers to apply in their writing. A modified version of Åkerberg's orthography, closer to Råddjärum's orthography, was used in Åkerberg and Nyström's *Älvdalsk grammatik* ('Elfdalian grammar') (2012), as well as in Andersson and Åkerberg's *Frost Anders dagbok* (2017). Råddjärum's orthography has also been used in children's books in the past years.

In 2005, the newly founded Råddjärum, the Elfdalian Language Council, presented a new, standard, sub-variety-neutral orthography for Elfdalian, which was accepted by Ulum Dalska and implemented to varying degrees of accuracy in grammars, dictionaries, books and other publications in the subsequent years. A standard orthography and its application to sample texts in LCE by the Language Council gave rise to concerns among some Elfdalian speakers, partially from members of Ulum Dalska, mainly regarding the possible disappearance of regional variations, as well as the creation of a diglossia situation as a result of the new standard (Helgander 2005; Sapir 2017; Section 2.3, this volume).

Råddjärum's orthography has ever since been used in academic and non-academic publications, as well as for teaching Elfdalian, both at schools in Övdaln and for adults. In general, Elfdalian became more visible in the linguistic landscape of Övdaln in the years to come, for example, in

[57] On the back of the book, Larsson wrote that he removed many old words so it would not be too difficult to read the book. This demonstrates that speakers of Modern Elfdalian had already lost many of the traditional Classical Elfdalian vocabulary. The author was apparently unconscious of the morphological and syntactic differences in his language compared to Classical Elfdalian.

shop names, signs inside shops and road names. Since 2009, Ulum Dalska and a local savings corporation have been awarding 'language grants' to pupils in the third, sixth and ninth grade who have passed a language proficiency test in Elfdalian, a step that raised awareness of Elfdalian and the motivation to learn it among schoolchildren. As part of the recent revitalisation project *Wilum og bellum* ('We want and we can', 2018 to 2022), various activities and projects were carried out: the publication of Elfdalian-language children's literature, Elfdalian 'start packages' for new parents, as well as the organisation of cultural activities, language courses and workshops for parents, teachers and pre-school staff, and activities involving Elfdalian language use for youth, as well as summer courses for children.

Besides Övdaln, the present-day municipality of Älvdalen also comprises the former Norwegian parishes of Särna and Idre, in which the local East Norwegian varieties of Särna and Idre have been used traditionally. Moreover, South Sámi, spoken by a part of the population in Idre, has an official minority-language status in the municipality of Älvdalen.

1.3.4.6 From LCE to Modern Elfdalian

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, crucial changes have taken place in the Elfdalian language. Some important ones include:

1) LCE phonology has preserved some archaic features, such as nasal vowels, three different types of syllable structure, the segment [ð], as well as some segments or clusters that are quite infrequent or dated in neighbouring varieties, such as [l̥], [w] and [ŋg]. Many of these typical Elfdalian phonetic features are rare among younger generations of Modern Elfdalian speakers today. Of these features, vowel nasality appears rare among speakers younger than about 70 and may further vary depending on geographic location.
2) LCE's three-case system has been replaced by a two-case system in Modern Elfdalian, and the distinction between definite and indefinite plural nouns is sometimes eliminated (Garbacz and Johannessen 2015).[58, 59] The verb system partially preserves a rather

[58] If treating the genitive forms of nouns as merely dative forms with the suffix *-es* rather than as a separate grammatical case.
[59] According to Svenonius (2015), Modern Elfdalian spoken by the old generation has a two-case system in full noun phrases.

high complexity in Modern Elfdalian, with one form for singular and three forms for the plural. The adjective plural still distinguishes between two gender forms (one for masculine and feminine and a second one for neuter). However, inflectional noun and weak verb paradigms in LCE sometimes correspond to the syllable structure of the root rather than follow the old inflectional classes, for example, *neti* [nèti] 'net.DAT.SG.', but *ause* [ɑ̀:u̯se] 'house.DAT.SG.', where the suffix changes according to the LCE rules of the vowel balance (Ringmar 2005; Sapir 2005). Moreover, LCE syntax, which was closer to Insular Scandinavian, has changed to become closer to Swedish syntax (Garbacz and Johannessen 2015).

3) Some of the traditional LCE words, for example, *glåmå* 'to speak', *kumå å by* 'to visit' and *slungga* 'female cousin', have been replaced by Swedish-based loanwords in Modern Elfdalian: *akudira* or *språka* 'to speak', *els å* or *bisyötja* 'to visit' and *kusin* 'female cousin', respectively. Yet other words have undergone changes drawing them closer to Swedish words, for example, LCE *older* 'never', but Modern Elfdalian *aldri* (cf. Swedish *aldrig*).

Since 2004, conscious Elfdalian language planning has been taking place, involving attempts to revitalise the language on the basis of LCE, as well as standardising it and developing its lexicon in order to respond to the needs of modern society.

1.3.4.7 From LCE to Revitalised Elfdalian

The shift from LCE to an LCE-based Revitalised Elfdalian poses several challenges in terms of language standardisation: Classical Elfdalian (as well as its older stages), which was almost exclusively used as a spoken language, has also had an impact on the evolution of the language and its prosodic segmentation. Speech has thus not been influenced by a clear prosodic segmentation into words, but rather by pauses between larger units of clauses or sentences, within which phonological processes such as sandhi, ellipse and apocope could take place, as in, for example, 1) *og du* 'and you' [o ðʉ́:] *ig og du*, where the final /g/ of the first word is elided, and the initial /d/ of the second word becomes a fricative; 2) *dier* 'they', but in *dier saggde* 'they said', the /r/ is mute, and in *dier saggd so* 'they said so', the /e/ is moreover omitted; 3) a difference between attributive and independent forms, for example, *nog pärur* 'some potatoes', but *nogrer* 'some (referring to potatoes)', respectively; 4) a subtle epenthesis such as a weak [p] between /m/ and /t/, as in ['ìe̯m(p)tɑ] can be realised in the spoken

language but may be difficult to render with a standard alphabet. The current spelling *iemta* 'put, gather, place' may obviously affect the way the word will be pronounced in the future; 5) verbal phrases are typically more common than noun phrases – hence, propositions such as *Ig al spyr etter* 'I shall ask (+ particle)' were more common than propositions involving the word *question* (e.g. 'ask a question'). This helps understand why some nouns might be experienced as 'lacking' in LCE; for example, no native Elfdalian word for 'question' exists.[60] However, in a modern, literary society, more noun phrases are required; 6) on the lexical level, many words and expressions from traditional society fall out of use, whereas a great number of new words and expressions are required by modern society in Övdaln; 7) on the morphological level, the definite form is used for non-delimited nouns, roughly corresponding to English 'some'. When using such words with no syntactic context but rather in modern contexts, such as signs, headings or lists, a choice between the definite form (e.g. *mjotję* 'milk.DEF.', i.e. 'some people', *yövninggär* 'exercises.DEF.', i.e. 'some exercises') or rather the indefinite form should be made. If definite forms are prioritised in such contexts, indefinite forms may be unknown for the speakers; 8) in the context of language variation, a standard orthography naturally has a levelling effect. When standardising the orthography, such processes must be considered carefully, as their shaping may have a serious impact on different levels of the language performance, as well as language acquisition. Moreover, 9) with the lack of Elfdalian as the predominant language in pre-schools and schools, and with a middle generation that often lacks good Elfdalian language skills and Elfdalian literacy, such a transition into a revitalised Elfdalian may be experienced as rather challenging.

1.3.4.8 The current sociolinguistic situation of Elfdalian

The contemporary sociolinguistic situation of Elfdalian is rather complex: On the one hand, the feelings of shame that were common among many native speakers until the beginning of the 2000s appear to have been replaced by positive attitudes towards the language. Standardisation and revitalisation efforts have enabled the publication of a considerable amount of literature and teaching material in Revitalised LCE and offer some language instruction for both children and adults. Elfdalian is likewise more visible in the linguistic landscape and can sometimes be heard

[60] Rather, the Swedish loan-word *fråga* 'question' is being used in Modern Elfdalian. A very recent purist coinage is, however, *spyrningg*.

in the public sphere in Övdaln nowadays. Moreover, Elfdalian is offered as an optional subject in elementary school and is used by some pre-school teachers as well. On the other hand, with no official status, it is difficult to find resources in order to train teachers in Elfdalian and to offer Elfdalian as an established school subject. Moreover, revitalising the LCE variety would demand a great deal of resources and work, which should be led by linguists with a high level of Elfdalian language competence. Bengt Åkerberg was the first to advocate a revitalised LCE, which he actively taught in his courses and through his grammars. He and his advocacy have inspired many other language activists and linguists. Some speakers who have reclaimed their Elfdalian, as well as some new speakers, have learned LCE and use it to a certain degree in everyday contexts. Also on the lexical level, neologisms have always been introduced into the language, some of which have been spontaneously jocular and/or puristic (see also Section 13.1.3.6).

The Elfdalian language decline manifests itself in the share of Modern Elfdalian speakers in Övdaln: from some 90 to 95 per cent of the local population at the beginning of the twentieth century (Levander 1909a, 1925) down to slightly above half in 1971 (Melerska 2011) and 34 per cent of the population in 2008 (Larsson and Welin 2008). According to Larsson and Welin (2008), who carried out the survey for the *Ulum Dalska* language association, there were only 45 speakers of Elfdalian aged 15 and lower in 2007. According to Melerska (2011), only 16 per cent of the children with Elfdalian-speaking parents reported that their parent(s) always spoke Elfdalian to them in 2010. Tegnér (2019) accounts for a more recent survey carried out by the Ulum Dalska language association, also based on self-reporting, which shows that the number of Elfdalian-speaking children aged 15 and under increased to 144 in 2019. More recent data on this subject, achieved by means of scientific methodology, are necessary.[61] Moreover, as many speakers today use Elfdalian merely as a home language, the vital mechanisms connected to communication and language development through frequent use in a language community and linguistic input is lacking. Revitalisation projects in the past years have been aimed at bringing Elfdalian speakers together, using Elfdalian in pre-schools and teaching it in schools so far. No attempts have been made to use Elfdalian as a medium of instruction in schools.

The relation to the majority Swedish language poses yet another challenge: today's commonly spoken Elfdalian differs considerably from

[61] Data from Melerska (2011) and Larsson and Wellin (2008) are self-reported and should hence be analysed carefully.

the LCE documented by Levander or written by Frost Anders in the 1940s. All Elfdalian speakers are bilingual, and Swedish is the dominant language in society. These factors, combined with the affinity to Swedish, render it difficult to determine the extent to which Elfdalian can contain Swedish language features and still be regarded as Elfdalian. Moreover, with no legal language status in Sweden, no language authority can take a position or establish policies in this context. The Elfdalian that has been used in published literature and in instructions in recent years is often oriented towards a revitalised LCE variety, and the orthography is Råðdjärum's standard, or a standard that is very close to it.

In terms of language vitality, the current sociolinguistic situation of Elfdalian is severely endangered (level 2), according to UNESCO's (2003) criteria, when it comes to transgenerational transmission, domains, policies and attitudes: the language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up. A minority in the region of Övdaln speaks the language; the language is used in limited social domains and for several functions; the language is used in some new domains; written materials exist, but may only be useful for some members of the community, whereas for others they may have a symbolic significance; literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum; government encourages assimilation to the dominant language; there is no protection for the minority language; some members support language maintenance, whereas others are indifferent or may even support language loss. As to language documentation, the situation can be described as situated on level 3: there may be an adequate grammar or sufficient number of grammars, dictionaries and texts but no everyday media, and audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotation. However, there is a reason for optimism concerning the revitalisation of Elfdalian, provided that the efforts that have been launched, such as the production of metalinguistic material for speakers, as well as Elfdalian teachers, continue, intensify and are carried out on a professional level. Other positive factors are: 1) Elfdalian speakers make up about half of the population of Övdaln and are concentrated in a rather small geographical territory; 2) speakers do not belong to an ethnic or cultural minority within the municipality or the state but are ethnically and culturally a part of the larger population; 3) many of the non-Elfdalian speakers in Övdaln have receptive Elfdalian-language skills; 4) many families have three or even four generations living in Övdaln, thus facilitating a transgenerational transmission of the language.

As to the status of Elfdalian, in the 1980s there were already calls to recognise it as a separate language from Swedish, but these did not

lead to any changes in the legal status (Sapir 2017). Surveys among Elfdalian parents have shown strong support for Elfdalian-language instruction in schools: As reported in Måsan (2005), a comprehensive survey about learning Dalecarlian vernaculars in school, conducted by Dalmålsakademin ('The Dalecarlian Academy', an association working for the preservation of the Dalecarlian vernaculars), shows that 92.7 per cent of the parents in Övdaln found it 'important' to preserve Dalecarlian/Elfdalian, the highest percentage among the seven areas presented in the report. Only 6.2 per cent of the parents in Övdaln found it 'less important' and 1 per cent find it 'unimportant' to preserve the local vernacular. Additionally, 93.9 per cent of the parents in Övdaln wished for Dalecarlian/Elfdalian language instruction in school for their children, also the highest rate among the seven areas; 65.4 per cent of the parents reported that someone in the family understood the language, also a top score. As for the children's results, 13.6 per cent of those in Övdaln reported that they could speak Dalecarlian, whereas 50.2 per cent could understand it. Only Malung scored higher notes – 19.3 per cent and 74.2 per cent, respectively. Some 62.5 per cent of the children in Övdaln reported that they wished to learn Dalecarlian, the second highest score after Malung's 70.9 per cent. No similar large-scale survey about Dalecarlian language skills and attitudes has been carried out since. Melerska (2011, 73, 106) shows that 75 per cent of the adults (parents and municipality employees) and 37 per cent of the children in Övdaln held that Elfdalian should be taught in school. In 2023, as many as 170 children registered for Elfdalian-language instruction in school, after regular school hours, and took part in it. In the year before, some 10 teachers and kindergarten pedagogues took part at the first Elfdalian language course organised to develop Elfdalian language skills specifically aimed at this target group.

Although not yet an officially recognised language in Sweden, and hence not an official subject in the Swedish school curriculum, there are two strong arguments for treating Elfdalian as a language, or for recognising it politically as such. The arguments can be supported by the *abstand-ausbau* criteria:[62] On the *abstand* level, the distance between Elfdalian (LCE, or LCE-based Elfdalian) and other members of the North Germanic varieties, Swedish included, is significant on all linguistic levels, and mutual intelligibility is difficult (see also note 48).

[62] These *abstand-ausbau* criteria, introduced by Kloss (1952) serve in defining language varieties: *abstand* measures the distance to other varieties, whereas *ausbau* measures the degree of standardisation and function of the language variety in society.

On the *ausbau* level, Elfdalian is sociolinguistically well established and fills a function in society used by up to a half of the population of Övdaln;[63] it has acquired a standard orthography, created by Råðdjärum in 2005; it is sometimes taught as a subject in schools and used in partial early immersion in some kindergartens in Övdaln; there is likewise a body of books in Elfdalian, many of which were published in recent years by the Wilum og bellum revitalisation project; and, most importantly, there is a strong will among the inhabitants of Övdaln to reclaim Elfdalian.

Since 2005, attempts by Ulum Dalska and the municipality of Älvdalen have been made aiming at acquiring official recognition of Elfdalian as a minority or regional language by the Swedish state according to the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages of the European Council, a process that is still ongoing. In the past years, efforts have been made in order to acquire this language status, inter alia through debate articles, a dialogue with the Swedish parliament, motions to the Swedish parliament and regular meetings with the Council of Europe. Despite strong encouragement from the Council of Europe to the Swedish parliament to investigate the status of Elfdalian or to recognise it as a regional or minority language in Sweden, such a recognition has not been adopted yet.

[63] Using different methods of measuring linguistic distance of the vocabulary, Dahl (2005) concludes that the distance between Swedish and the Upper Siljan vernaculars, to which Elfdalian belongs, is comparable to the one between Swedish and Icelandic or Faroese and is much greater than the distances between Swedish, Danish and Norwegian.

2
Phonology and orthography

This chapter accounts for the phonology and orthography of Elfdalian. Elfdalian phonology is characterised by a large vowel system with phonemic vowel quantity and nasality, as well as several diphthongs.

In the context of North Germanic language history, Elfdalian displays some archaic features, such as the retention of some Old Norse nasal vowels, the consonants [w] and [ð] and the Old Norse syllable quantity system. At the same time, it displays some innovative features, such as the diphthongisation of several historically long vowels, vowel harmony, consonant palatalisation, the loss of [h] and the assimilation of several consonant clusters.

The current Standard Elfdalian orthography was introduced by Råðdjärum in 2005, with the aim of creating a compromise between regional variants within Övdaln. In addition to the letters included in the Swedish alphabet, it also comprises the letters <Ą̨ą̨, Ð̨ð̨, Ę̨ę̨, Į̨į̨, Ų̨ų̨, Ɣ̨ɣ̨ and Ą̊ą̊>, and marks overlong syllables with an apostrophe.

2.1 Vowels

Elfdalian has a large phonemic vowel inventory consisting of nine monophthongs: /i y e œ æ ʉ u ɔ ɑ/. All vowels can be phonemically long or short with no discernible difference in vowel quality. Any vowel is usually allophonically nasalised before a nasal consonant,[1] but five monophthongs can also be phonemically nasal: /ĩ ẽ ʉ̃ õ ɑ̃/. There are also six diphthongs

[1] Some exceptions exist: nasalisation usually does not spread over morpheme boundaries, or to unstressed open pre-tonic syllables in words such as *tomat* 'tomato' and *minut* 'minute'.

/ɑi̯ ɑʉ̯ ie̯ ʉə̯ yœ̯ ɔy̯/ that are allophonically nasalised before nasal consonants, but four of them can be phonemically nasal: /ɑ̃i̯ ĩe̯ ʉ̃ə̯ ỹœ̯/. The opening diphthongs can be either long or short, whereas the closing diphthongs are normally phonetically long.

Elfdalian monophthongs are shown with examples in Table 2.1. There are nine oral vowels and seven nasal vowels, which can all appear long or short. The discrepancy between oral and nasal vowels is due to a merger between the nasal mid consonants /ẽ/ and /æ̃/, vis-à-vis /õ/ and /ɔ̃/; see further Section 2.1.1.1.

2.1.1 Monophthongs

Table 2.1 Elfdalian monophthong phonemes

	FRONT			CENTRAL		BACK	
		[+NAS]	[+RND]		[+NAS]		[+NAS]
HIGH	i	ĩ	y	ʉ	ʉ̃		
MID	e	ẽ				o	õ
	æ		œ			ɔ	
LOW				ɑ	ɑ̃		

Not all vowels appear in the same contexts. The short nasal vowels mainly appear in unstressed grammatical suffixes after the historical loss of a final nasal consonant.

Unlike Swedish, for example, the quality of Elfdalian vowels does not differ notably depending on whether they are long or short, but regional variation exists in the realisation of each phoneme. Example words of vowels and their orthographic correspondences are provided in Table 2.5.

2.1.1.1 Phonetic realisation

The actual realisation of vowel phonemes varies slightly from the phonemic transcription in Table 2.1. For instance:

- The high vowels /i y ʉ/ usually have a rather low near-close realisation towards [ɪ ʏ ʉ̞].
- Likewise, mid /e/ is also lower than its cardinal pronunciation, that is, true-mid [e̞], whereas mid /o/ is quite high, towards a near-close [ʊ].[2]

[2] Regionally, however, /o/ may be lower, and can even merge with /ɔ/.

- The central vowel /ʉ/ is a central vowel with compressed rounding, usually not as fronted or protruded as Central Swedish [ʉ̞], somewhat like the corresponding vowel in Finland Swedish or Norwegian.[3]
- The outcome of the merger of the nasal mid consonants /ẽ/ and /õ/ varies regionally: west of the river the realisation is generally more open, towards [ɛ̃] and [ɔ̃]; east of the river it is generally more closed, towards [ẽ] and [õ].[4]
- The low vowel /ɑ/ is central [ä], but may vary from a back vowel [ɑ] to a central [ä] to a front [a] depending on the region. For simplicity, we use [ɑ] throughout this chapter in both phonemic and phonetic transcription.

2.1.2 Diphthongs

The Elfdalian diphthongs are /ɑi̯ ɑʉ̯ ie̯ ʉə̯ yœ̯ ɔy/. They can appear either nasal or oral, but the nasal versions of /ɔy/ and /ɑʉ̯/ appear only allophonically in front of a nasal consonant. The diphthongs are all falling, that is, the most prominent parts of the diphthongs are their first element. Diphthongs are usually long, but the opening diphthongs may also be short, especially in certain compounds and derivations (see Section 2.4.1.1), although these are rather infrequent, especially short /yœ̯/.

2.1.2.1 Glide–vowel sequences versus diphthongs

As reflected in the orthography, falling diphthongs, as in *ien* 'one', are analysed as true diphthongs, whereas the rising 'diphthongs', as in *jen* 'here', are analysed as a sequence of a glide + a vowel. This is supported for instance by the sandhi elision of /r/ before *jen* but not before *ien*, and the possible realisation of /j/ with friction.

Sequences orthographically spelt ⟨iuo⟩ and ⟨iǫo⟩ are considered to be phonological sequences of a glide + a diphthong, such as, *liuos* /ljʉə̯s/ 'light'. The spelling with ⟨j⟩ is used initially, as in *juol* 'Christmas' and *jǫot* 'hereto, hither'. Following a consonant, it is spelt with ⟨i⟩, as ⟨j⟩ is reserved for digraphs after ⟨t⟩ and ⟨d⟩, hence *tiuona* /tjʉ̀ːə̯nɑ/ 'to earn', but *tjuosle* /t͡ɕʉ̀ːə̯̊le/ 'skirt'.

[3] Regionally, it may vary its realisation horizontally from closer to [ʊ] to closer to [ʏ].

[4] The phonemes are somewhat arbitrarily represented in Table 2.1 as more closed, but any mid realisation is a valid pronunciation.

2.1.2.2 Regional variation

Like the monophthongs, the actual realisation of the diphthongs varies regionally. The opening diphthongs /ie̯ ʉə̯ yœ̯/ are all characterised by a stronger first element followed by a weaker, less distinct second element. This second element varies between villages but is often schwa-like.

- The realisation of /yœ̯/ may thus be something like [ʏə̯]~[ʏœ̯].
- The realisation of /ʉə̯/ is particularly variable: in the villages east of Dal River, the first (more prominent) element in the diphthong is as a rule [ʉ], whereas in the west it is usually [u]. The second less prominent part of the diphthong is a lower, often more central/front vowel, often with less lip-rounding, something like [ʉə̯]~[ʉæ̯]~[uo̯]~[uə̯] depending on the village.
- Realisations vary with regard to the diphthong /ɔy̯/ and the roundedness of the second element. The exact realisation varies between [ɔɪ̯] and [ɔʏ̯], perhaps with partial rounding.
- The diphthong /ɑʉ̯/ is monophthongised before /ŋ/, in many villages to [ɑ] and in Brunnsbjärr to [o].

2.1.2.3 Diphthongisation before /ŋ/

Historically, several vowels underwent diphthongisation before the velar nasal /ŋ/. According to this rule, /ɑ/ is diphthongised to /ɑʉ̯/,[5] /e/ is diphthongised to /ɑi̯/, with subsequent nasalisation, that is, [ɑ̃ʉ̯] and [ɑ̃i̯]. This diphthong is retained even if the /ŋ/ assimilates to /n/ in palatalisation processes; compare with *waingg* 'wing' but *waindjin* 'the wing' (see Section 2.5.1 on palatalisation).

This sound change causes certain irregularities in paradigms, for instance in the so-called third gradation series of strong verbs (see Section 7.1.2), where /ɑ/ in the past tense of verbs, for example, *finna-fann-funneð* is replaced by /ɑʉ̯/, for example, *klingga-klaungg-klundjeð*. This also causes the umlaut pattern *a* → *e* to show up as *au* → *ai* before /ŋ/, for example, *warm* 'warm' → *werma* 'to heat', but *laungg* 'long' → *lainggd* 'length' (see Section 2.5.6 on umlaut).

[5] In some villages further monophthongised to [ɑ] or, in Brunnsbjärr, to [o] (see Section 2.1.2.2).

2.2 Consonants

The Elfdalian consonant inventory consists of 18 phonemes, distributed according to six places of articulation and seven manners of articulation (Table 2.2). Most consonant sounds can be both long and short, except for [v] and [j], which typically do not occur long. Because of their allophonic distribution, this is also true for, for example, [ɽ], [ð], [ɣ] and [w]. The consonant phonemes presented in Table 2.2 have several phonetic realisations, which are presented in Table 2.3. Example words of consonants and their orthographic correspondences are provided in Table 2.5.

Table 2.2 Elfdalian consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental/ Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar
Stops	p b		t d			k g
Nasals	m		n			ŋ
Fricatives		f v	s			
Affricates				t͡ɕ d͡ʑ		
Laterals			l̥ l			
Trills			r			
Glides					j	

Table 2.3 Phonetic realisations of some Elfdalian consonant phonemes

/p/	–	[pʰ], [p]	/s/	–	[s̪]
/t/	–	[tʰ], [t]	/t͡ɕ/	–	[t͡ɕ], [t͡sʲ]
/k/	–	[kʰ], [k]	/d͡ʑ/	–	[d͡ʑ], [d͡zʲ]
/d/	–	[d̪], [ð], [r]	/l̥/	–	[l̥], [l̥̆]
/g/	–	[g], [ɣ]	/l/	–	[l], [ɽ]
/v/	–	[v], [w], [b], [β]	/n/	–	[n̪], [ŋ]

2.2.1 Stops and nasals

The voiceless stop phonemes /p/, /t/ and /k/ are aspirated according to the same rules as in English or Swedish; that is, with aspiration initially, but not after /s/, for example, *pil* [pʰí:ɽ] 'arrow',[6] but *spil* [spí:ɽ] 'game'. However, the aspiration itself is weaker than in Swedish or English.

[6] We use the diacritics acute and grave accent to mark the pitch accents traditionally known as acute and grave. This is non-IPA usage and should not be mistaken for the IPA usage of these diacritics. See Section 2.4.2 on pitch accent.

The voiced stop phonemes /d/ and /g/ alternate between a stop realisation [d] and [g] and a fricative realisation [ð] and [ɣ].[7] These allophones are in complementary distribution, so that the fricative realisations occur post-vocalically when short, and the stop realisations elsewhere, that is, *diel* [dí:e̯ɽ] 'part', but *lieð* [ɽí:e̯ð] 'cruel'; *gålå* [ˈgɔ̀ɽɔ] 'cry, scream', but *lågå* [ˈɽɔ̀ɣɔ] 'mend, cure'. The exception is a small number of pronouns and adverbs, where [ð] also arises initially owing to sandhi, which is discussed further in Section 2.5.7. The fricative pronunciation of /d/ is evidently considered more salient than that of /g/, and is shown in the orthography as ⟨ð⟩, whereas [ɣ] is not.

The realisation of /d n/ is apical and post-dental [d̪ n̪], that is, not as laminodental as in, for example, Central Swedish.

The velar nasal [ŋ] mostly occurs as an allophone of /n/ before velar stops, but its phonemic status is supported by a few words in which /ŋ/ occurs before a vowel. There are therefore a few near-minimal pairs, for example, *ungen* /ˈʉ́ŋːen/ 'oven' versus *ungger* /ˈʉ́ŋːger/ 'hunger'.

2.2.1.1 Syllabic n

The nasal /n/ is often syllabic in endings after [t d ð n], as in *bundn* [bʉ̀nːdn̩] 'bound', or after a long vowel, as in *da'n* [dɑ́ːn̩] 'the day'. In other phonological contexts the suffix is *-in* instead, for example, *spruttjin* [sprʉ̀tːɛin] 'cracked' or *kåvin* [kɔ́ːvin] 'the calf'.

2.2.2 Fricatives and affricates

The voiced labiodental phoneme /v/ alternates between a labiodental allophone [v] and a bilabial glide [w]. These are in complementary distribution, so that [w] occurs before a tautomorphemic vowel, as in *rwaiða* [rwàːi̯ðɑ] 'to turn', and [v] after a tautomorphemic vowel, as in *raiva* [ràːi̯vɑ] 'to scratch'. This alternation is represented in the orthography as ⟨v⟩ and ⟨w⟩. Before /d/, /v/ is also sometimes realised as [b], as in *lovdag* [ˈɽɔ̀vˌdɑːɣ]~[ˈɽɔ̀bˌdɑːɣ] 'Saturday'.[8]

[7] Regionally, final [ð] is sometimes replaced by [r]. This occurs in some short grammatical words, e.g. the pronoun *eð* and the preposition *að* (with compounds). It also occurs in certain endings, for instance in all neuter forms (e.g. *guoveð* > *guover* 'the floor'; *ukað* > *ukar* 'which.N'; *noð* > *nor* 'something.N'), as well as supine forms of verbs (e.g. *kastað* > *kastar* 'thrown'; *ietið* > *ietir* 'eaten'; *småkåð* > *småkår* 'tasted').

[8] Older sources from the turn of the last century also report a bilabial fricative [β] as an allophone of /v/ in medial and final position, i.e. *gråvå* [ˈgrɔ̀βɔ] 'dig' and *turv* [tʰʉ́rːβ] 'fringe, bangs'. This allophone can still be heard, albeit rarely, but is likely the origin of the bilabial realisation of /v/ as [b] before /d/.

The realisation of /s/ is not identical to that of Central Swedish or Received Pronunciation English. Instead, it is apical and perhaps slightly more retracted, closer to the /s/ of Finnish or Icelandic. The acoustic impression is therefore 'darker' than the /s/ of Central Swedish. This apical diacritic is henceforth omitted also in narrow transcription.

The articulation of the affricates varies regionally. In some, especially western villages, it is a alveolo-palatal [t͡ɕ] and [d͡ʑ], akin to that found in, for example, Polish *ć, dź* or in Finland Swedish. In eastern villages, the affricate is still palatalised but is more dental towards [t͡sʲ].

2.2.3 Liquids

The voiceless lateral /l̥/ originated from historical /sl/ and /tl/ clusters, and is written ⟨sl⟩ in the orthography, for example, ⟨slut⟩ /l̥ʉ́ːt/ 'end'. When followed by a vowel, /l̥/ often gains voicing towards the end of its duration, that is, strictly [l̥͡l]. The voiceless lateral may also be syllabic in, for example, *biesl* /bìːe̯l̥/ 'to bridle'.

The voiced lateral /l/ alternates between two main allophones: an alveolar approximant [l] and a retroflex flap [ɽ].[9] The latter is typically used when the consonant is short, as in *suol* [sʉ́ːɐ̯ɽ] 'sun'. This is also the case in initial position, as in *luv* [ɽʉ́ːv] 'permission'. The former is used when the consonant is long, as in *kall* [kʰálː] 'man' or *kweld* [kʰwélːd] 'evening'. The alveolar realisation is usually also used when /l/ occurs in combination with another alveolar, in particular the alveolar stops /t/ and /d/, for example, *andler* [ˈànːdler] 'merchant', and usually – but not always – together with /n/ as well. Especially in the older language, /n/ following /l/ often assimilated to the retroflex realisation of /l/, for example, *muoln* [mʉːɐ̯ɽɳ] 'cloud'. However, many speakers today assimilate the /l/ instead: [mʉːɐ̯ln].[10]

2.2.4 Marginal phonemes

The glottal fricative [h] does not normally exist in Elfdalian, but occurs in a few interjections and personal names borrowed from Swedish, for example, *häj* /hæj/ 'hello'.

[9] In Scandinavian dialectology often called 'thick l'.

[10] The alveolar approximant was earlier used in more positions, for instance in old masculine nouns on *-l*. This created minimal pairs such as *myöl* /myːœ̯l/ 'ball (m.)' versus *myöl* /myːœ̯ɽ/ 'flour (n.)'; *uol* /ʉːɐ̯l/ 'hill (m.)' versus *uol* /ʉːɐ̯ɽ/ 'hole (n.)'. Because of this, one could argue for a separate /ɽ/ phoneme. However, this distinction is not upheld today.

A glottal stop [ʔ] is obligatory in a few interjections, for example, *'ö* /ʔœː/ 'yuck, ew', or the near-minimal pair *'m'm* /ˈʔm̩̀ʔm̩ː/ 'no', versus *mm* /m̩̀ːm̩/ 'yes' (see Chapter 11).

2.2.5 On transcription

To make phonetic transcriptions more accessible, we have settled on using a broad phonetic transcription throughout this grammar, where certain allophones are represented in the transcription, for instance [ð], [ɣ] and [w], whereas, for instance, allophonic nasalisation and aspiration have been left out. The reason for this is that a true phonetic transcription would be too technical, but also not neutral to regional variation, whereas a true phonemic transcription would not represent certain sounds important to the language, such as [ð], [ɣ] and [w]. Henceforth, a broad phonetic transcription is mostly used and represented with square brackets [ ], unless the text refers explicitly to the phoneme, in which case slashes / / are used. The reader is referred to Sections 2.1.1.1, 2.1.2.2 and Table 2.3 for information on more detailed phonetic realisation.

2.3 Orthography

This section accounts for the current Elfdalian orthography and alphabet, as well as their phonological correspondences.

The current Elfdalian alphabet is based on the standard Elfdalian orthography introduced by Råðdjärum in 2005 (see also Section 1.3.4.5). In addition to letters included in the English alphabet, it contains letters that are also included in the Swedish alphabet and occur at the end of the alphabet, these being ⟨Åå, Ää, Öö⟩. In addition to these, the Elfdalian alphabet contains the letter ⟨Ðð⟩ in common with Icelandic and Faroese, which occurs right after ⟨Dd⟩, and the nasal vowels ⟨Ą̨ą̨, Ę̨ę̨, Į̨į̨, Ų̨ų̨, Ỵ̨ỵ̨⟩, which occur right after their oral equivalents in the alphabet. The letters ⟨Cc, Qq, Xx, Zz⟩ only occur in foreign proper nouns. The letter ⟨Hh⟩ only occurs in foreign proper nouns and a few Elfdalian words. The Elfdalian alphabet and the names of the letters are shown in Table 2.4.

Råðdjärum's standard orthography for Elfdalian from 2005 was intended to be a compromise between the (rather minor) phonological isoglosses within Övdaln, where each phonological element, which had regional variation, would be rendered by the majority pronunciation. Moreover, a balance was sought between etymological, phonological and aesthetic criteria, likewise taking into consideration the independence of

Elfdalian from Swedish, but at the same time the fact that all Elfdalian speakers also speak Swedish. A standard orthography would obviously also serve as an important tool in the efforts to revitalise Elfdalian, in teaching and documenting the language, and in facilitating the use of grammars, dictionaries and other language resources.

The current standard orthography, or variants based on it, which are rather close, have been used in most Elfdalian-language books published since then. Throughout this book, Råddjärum's standard orthography (see Section 1.3.4.5) is used.[11]

The names of the letters presented here are based on traditional Elfdalian letter names, as well as more recent names introduced with the various orthographies. The name *Eð* for ⟨Ðð⟩ was borrowed from Icelandic.

Capital letters are used in Elfdalian in the beginning of a sentence and in proper names. Differently from English, however, small letters are used in names of letters, days, months, holidays, nationalities, languages, religious or political affiliations; for example, *mes påskär irå* 'in Easter (lit. 'when it is Easter')', *eð war i juni* 'It was in June', *ur ietter eð ą̊ övdalskun?* 'what is it called in Elfdalian?

Table 2.4 The Elfdalian alphabet and the names of the letters

Letter	**Name**
Aa	a
Ą̊ą̊	ą̊
Bb	bi
Cc	si
Dd	di
Ðð	eð
Ee	e
Ęę	ę
Ff	eff
Gg	gi
Hh	må, liuot-å
Ii	i
Įį	į
Jj	ji
Kk	kå
Ll	ell
Mm	emm
Nn	enn

[11] In very few cases, deviations from these were made, e.g. the difference between the prepositions *eter* and *etter* (cf. Steensland 2021 and Section 9.2.1.2).

Table 2.4 (continued)

Letter	Name
Oo	o
Pp	pi
Qq	ku
Rr	err
Ss	ess
Tt	ti
Uu	u
Ʊʊ	ʉ
Vv	vi
Ww	wi
Xx	eks
Yy	y
Ʒʒ	ʒ
Zz	setå
Åå	å
Ꞓꞓ	ꞓ
Ää	ä
Öö	ö

Note: Hh, hå, liuot-å: The name *liuot-å* lit., 'ugly-å', is intended to distinguish this letter from ⟨Åå⟩, as /h/ is not a part of the Elfdalian phonological system.

Table 2.5 shows orthographical and phonological correspondences. As shown in the table, consonant length is marked in the orthography by doubling the consonant, for example, ⟨k⟩ → ⟨kk⟩, while vowel length is not explicitly marked.[12] Short consonants represented by digraphs double the first component of the digraph when long, for example, ⟨sl⟩ → ⟨ssl⟩ or ⟨tj⟩ → ⟨ttj⟩. As shown in Table 2.6, an overlong syllable is marked by an apostrophe after the vowel, and a double consonant, for example, ⟨ö'tt⟩.

Table 2.5 Orthographical and phonological correspondences

		SHORT			LONG		
Grapheme	**IPA**	**Example**	**IPA**	**Gloss**	**Example**	**IPA**	**Gloss**
⟨i⟩	[i]	*nitti*	['nít:i]	'ninety'	*bit*	[bí:t]	'piece'
⟨ị⟩	[ī]	*tatjị*	['tàtɕī]	'the roof. DAT.'	*ịster*	['ī́:ster]	'lard'
⟨y⟩	[y]	*tytta*	['tỳt:ɑ]	'aunt'	*fya*	['fỳ:ɑ]	'to follow'
⟨u⟩	[ʉ]	*mugg*	[múg:]	'mosquito'	*sju*	[sjʉ́:]	'seven'
⟨ʉ⟩	[ʉ̄]	*stugʉ*	['stʉ̀ɣʉ̄]	'the cottage. ACC.'	*nʉ*	[nʉ́:]	'now'

[12] See further Section 2.4.1 on syllable quantity and its orthographical representation.

Table 2.5 (continued)

		SHORT			LONG		
Grapheme	**IPA**	**Example**	**IPA**	**Gloss**	**Example**	**IPA**	**Gloss**
⟨o⟩	[o]	*skolle*	['skòl:e]	'head'	*oga*	['ò:ɣɑ]	'eye'
⟨e⟩	[e]	*tretti*	['trét:i]	'thirty'	*fera*	['fè:rɑ]	'ferry'
⟨ę⟩	[ẽ]	*bjärrę*	['bjǽr:ẽ]	'the mountains'	*sę*	[sẽ:]	'then'
⟨ö⟩	[œ]	*rövir*	['rœ̀vir]	'foxes'	*bög*	[bœ́:ɣ]	'bag'
⟨å⟩	[ɔ]	*fåvå*	['fɔ̀vɔ]	'to go, travel'	*åv*	[ɔ́:v]	'half'
⟨ą̊⟩	[õ]	*nevą̊*	['nèvõ]	'the hands. ACC.'	*fą̊*	[fõ:]	'to get, receive'
⟨ä⟩	[æ]	*jäld*	[jǽl:d]	'fire'	*ära*	['æ̀:rɑ]	'ear'
⟨a⟩	[ɑ]	*tappa*	['tàp:ɑ]	'to lose'	*par*	[pɑ̀:r]	'pair'
⟨ą⟩	[ɑ̃]	*bią*	['bì:ɑ̃]	'the bee'	*grą'lla*	['grɑ̀:l:ɑ]	'entirely'
DIPHTHONGS							
⟨ie⟩	[iẹ]	*iett*	[íẹt:]	'one'	*iek*	[í:ẹk]	'oak'
⟨ię⟩	[ĩẹ]	*stiębru*	['stĩẹ̯,brʉ:]	'stone bridge'	*rięsa*	['rĩ:ẹsɑ]	'to clean, rinse'
⟨yö⟩	[yœ̞]	*tjyötbit*	['tɕỳœ̞t̬,bi:t]	'piece of meat'	*syöt*	[sý:œ̞t]	'sweet'
⟨yö⟩	[ỹœ̞]				*myöte*	['mỹ:œ̞te]	'meeting'
⟨uo⟩	[ʉ̞ə̞]	*kuogå*	['kʉ̀ə̞ɣɔ]	'to watch'	*ruot*	[rʉ́:ə̞t]	'root'
⟨ụo⟩	[ʉ̃ə̞]	*mụofar*	['mʉ̃ə̞̯,fɑ:r]	'mat. grandfather'	*snụok*	[snʉ̃:ə̞k]	'grass snake'
⟨åy⟩	[ɔ̞y]				*påyk*	[pɔ̞́:y̯k]	'boy'
⟨ai⟩	[ɑi̯]				*baita*	['bɑ̀:i̯tɑ]	'to bite'
⟨ąi⟩	[ɑ̃i̯]				*dąi*	[dɑ̃́:i̯]	'your.F.SG'
⟨au⟩	[ɑʉ̯]				*aus*	[ɑ́:ʉ̯s]	'house'
CONSONANTS							
⟨p⟩	[p]	*pära*	['pæ̀:rɑ]	'potato'	*kripp*	[krípː]	'child'
⟨b⟩	[b]	*bokke*	['bòk:e]	'hill'	*gubbe*	['gʉ̀b:e]	'old man'
⟨t⟩	[t]	*tokk*	[tók:]	'thanks'	*matta*	['mɑ̀t:ɑ]	'carpet'
⟨d⟩	[d]	*dar*	[dɑ́:r]	'there'	*adde*	['ɑ̀d:e]	'had'
⟨k⟩	[k]	*kold*	[kól:d]	'cold'	*rakke*	['rɑ̀k:e]	'dog'
⟨g⟩	[g], [ɣ]	*gema*	['gè:mɑ]	'to hide'	*tegga*	['tèg:ɑ]	'to chew'
⟨m⟩	[m]	*muna*	['mʉ̀:nɑ]	'mother'	*ammen*	['ɑ́m:en]	'harbour'
⟨n⟩	[n]	*nevi*	['nèvi]	'hand'	*brinna*	['brìn:ɑ]	'to burn'
⟨f⟩	[f]	*fera*	['fè:rɑ]	'ferry'	*kaffi*	['kɑ̀f:i]	'coffee'
⟨v⟩	[v]	*kåv*	[kɔ́:v]	'calf'			
⟨ð⟩	[ð]	*biða*	['bì:ðɑ]	'to pray'			
⟨s⟩	[s]	*standa*	['stàn:dɑ]	'to stand'	*masse*	['más:e]	'cat'
⟨l⟩	[l], [ɭ]	*livå*	['l̩ivɔ]	'to live'	*kall*	[kál:]	'man'
⟨r⟩	[r]	*råkå*	['rɔ̀kɔ]	'to shave'	*ärre*	['æ̀r:e]	'lord'
⟨w⟩	[w]	*wep*	[wé:p]	'puppy'			
⟨j⟩	[j]	*järr*	[jǽ:r]	'here'			
CONSONANT DIGRAPHS							
⟨ng⟩	[ŋ]				*ungen*	['ʉ́ŋ:en]	'oven'
⟨tj⟩	[t͡ɕ]	*tjyr*	[t͡ɕý:r]	'cow'	*tyttja*	['tỳt:ɕɑ]	'to think'
⟨dj⟩	[d͡ʑ]	*djärå*	['d͡ʑæ̀rɔ]	'to do'	*byddja*	['bỳd:ʑɑ]	'to live'
⟨sl⟩	[l̩]	*slaik*	[l̩ɑ́:i̯k]	'such'	*nessla*	['nèl̩:ɑ]	'nettle'

Table 2.6 shows major orthographic convention in the framework of Råðdjärum's standard orthography.

Table 2.6 Major orthographical conventions

Orthography	Pronunciation	Example
⟨'⟩ + double consonant	Overlong syllable	*trä'tt* [tɾǽ:t:] 'tired'
⟨ti⟩ + vowel	[tj]	*tiug* [tjʉ́:ɣ] 'score, twenty'
⟨di⟩ + vowel	[dj]	*diärv* [djǽr:v] 'bold'
⟨d, s, t⟩ + ⟨n⟩	[dn̩], [sn̩], [tn̩]	*litn* [ɭì:tn̩] 'little'
⟨'n⟩	Syllabic [n̩] after vowel	*da'n* [dɑ́:n̩] 'the day'
⟨CC⟩ clusters	/C:C/	*kweld* [kwél:d] 'evening'

Note: Regarding /C:C/, some words are exceptions to this rule, for example, *tavlur* ['tàvɽʉr] 'paintings' or *undą̊* ['ʉ̀ndõ] 'away'. This makes the consonant length phonemic.

2.4 Prosody

2.4.1 Syllable quantity and vowel balance

Syllable quantity has been highly significant in the history of Elfdalian, and has been the cause of much allomorphy as well as several morpho-phonological processes, for instance apocope (see Section 2.5.3), vowel harmony (see Section 2.5.5) and vowel balance (see Table 2.7 and the rest of this section). Unlike Swedish, Elfdalian has preserved the old Scandinavian syllable quantity system with short, long and overlong syllables.

An Elfdalian syllable consists minimally of a vowel nucleus V or a syllabic consonant, and can have an onset and a coda of maximally three consonants, that is, (C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)(C). A syllable is short if its rime (nucleus + coda) contains no long segments. Otherwise, they are long. Thus, in words such as *skugge* 'shadow' the root contains a long consonant, whereas in *bugi* 'bow' it does not, making it short. This is equivalent to the notion of *syllable weight*, but in accordance with Nordic tradition, it is referred to here as quantity or length. Words such as *skugge* are called *long-syllabled words*, as the consonant is long (VC:). Words such as *bugi* are called *short-syllabled words*, as neither the vowel nor the consonant is long (VC).[13] Syllables can also be *overlong*, containing both a long vowel + a long consonant, for example, *trä'tt* [tɾǽ:t:] 'tired'. The different types are summarised in Table 2.7.

[13] Monosyllabic short-syllabled words were as a rule lengthened in non-suffixed forms, and these words are therefore called 'short-syllabled' because of their historical length, and because the short-syllabicity often shows up in suffixed forms, e.g. *ber* [bé:r] 'berry' > *beri* [bèri] 'berry.DAT'.

Table 2.7 Syllable quantity types with examples of vowel alternations between short- and long-syllabled words

Syllable structure	**Syllable length**	**Vowels in endings**	**Example**		
			i ~ e **(į ~ ę)**	**ä ~ e**	**å ~ a** **(ą̊ ~ ą)**
VC	Short	/i æ ɔ/ (/ĩ ɔ̃/)	*bug-i* ‘bow’ *röv-ir* ‘fox.PL’ *dal-į* ‘valley.DEF.DAT’	*bäk-är* ‘bake.PRS’ *bäk-äð* ‘bake.PST’	*båk-å* ‘bake.INF’ *båk-åð* ‘bake.SUP’ *dåg-ą̊* ‘day.DEF.ACC.PL’
V:C	Long	/e ɑ/ (/ẽ ɑ̃/)	*steð-e* ‘anvil’ *kåv-er* ‘calf.PL’ *broð-ę* ‘bread.DEF.DAT’	*el-er* ‘kill.PRS’ *el-eð* ‘kill.PST’	*el-a* ‘kill.INF’ *el-að* ‘kill.SUP’ *lok-ą* ‘onion.DEF.ACC.PL’
VC:			*skugg-e* ‘shadow’ *kripp-er* ‘child.PL’ *bjärr-ę* ‘mountain.DEF.DAT’	*upp-er* ‘jump.PRS’ *upp-eð* ‘jump.PST’	*upp-a* ‘jump.INF’ *upp-að* ‘jump.SUP’ *uott-ą* ‘glove.DEF.ACC.PL’
VCC			*brind-e* ‘elk’ *fesk-er* ‘fresh.PL’ *band-ę* ‘band.DEF.DAT’	*dans-er* ‘dance.PRS’ *dans-eð* ‘dance.PST’	*dans-a* ‘dance.INF’ *dans-að* ‘dance.SUP’ *wask-ą* ‘wretch.DEF.ACC.PL’
V:C:	Overlong		*stjuo’ss-e* ‘lift, vehicle.DAT’ *ti’tt-er* ‘tight.PL’ *stjuo’ss-ę* ‘lift, vehicle.DEF.DAT’	*ti’tt-er* ‘tighten.PRS’ *ti’tt-eð* ‘tighten.PST’	*ti’tt-a* ‘tighten.INF’ *ti’tt-að* ‘tighten.SUP’ *stjuo’ss-ą* ‘lift, vehicle.DEF.ACC.PL’

As shown in Table 2.7, the quantity of a root syllable is determinative of many of its endings, such that /i/ alternates with /e/, /æ/ alternates with /e/ and /ɔ/ alternates with /ɑ/ in many endings and parts of speech in a process known as *vowel balance*.[14] As an example, the suffix of weak masculine nouns is *-e* in long-syllabled words (e.g. *skugge* [ˈskʉ̞g:e] 'shadow'), but *-i* in short-syllabled words (e.g. *bugi* [ˈbʉ̞ɣi] 'bow'). Similarly, the infinitive suffix is *-a* in long-syllabled verbs (e.g. *uppa* [ˈʉ̞p:ɑ] 'to jump'), but *-å* in short (e.g. *småkå* [ˈsmɔ̀kɔ] 'to taste'). The present tense endings are likewise *-er* in long-syllabled verbs (e.g. *upper* [ˈʉ̞p:er] 'jumps') but *-är* in short (e.g. *smäkär* [ˈsmæ̀kær] 'tastes').

In the standard orthography, a long consonant is typically marked by two consonants, as in *skugge*. However, when a cluster of two consonants follows a short vowel in a stressed syllable, the first consonant is usually lengthened, as in *kweld* [kwél:d] 'evening'. A single vowel + a single consonant can either represent a long vowel + a short consonant as in *buð*, or a short vowel + a short consonant as in *bugi*. The syllable quantity can sometimes be derived from the allomorphy in some of the endings, as shown in Table 2.6. In this case *bugi* has a short vowel as the suffix is *-i*, but in other cases, the orthography is ambiguous in this respect.

2.4.1.1 Compound quantity

Long syllables are often shortened as first elements in compounds and derivations.[15] This is especially true for words with a final long vowel that is very often shortened, for example, *sju* [sjʉ́:] 'lake' → *sjustrand* [ˈsjʉ̞ˌstrɑn:d] 'lakeshore'. This can also be seen in words that lose their final consonant in compounds (see Section 2.5.2), for example, *nęr* [nẽ:r] 'near' → [ˈnẽˌsy:nt] 'near-sighted'; *bröð* [brœ́:ð] 'bread' → *bröðstjiv* [ˈbrœ̀ˌstɕi:v] 'slice of bread'. In some cases, the consonant of the first element is shortened as well, with regional variation, e.g. *begg* [beg:] 'barley'. However, it is not always a rule in this case; compare, for example, *sturbra* [ˈstʉ̞:ˌbrɑ:] 'very good'.

When the first element does not end in a vowel, the shortening is more irregular and occurs only in certain words; for example, shortened *åv* [ɔ̀:v] 'half' → *åvstop* [ˈɔ̀vˌsto:p] 'a unit of volume'; but unshortened *ås* [ɔ̀:s] 'neck' → *åsogg* [ˈɔ̀:sˌog:] 'decapitate'.

[14] This is not true for all endings, so while *-i* alternates with *-e* in weak masculine words, the neuter definite suffix *-ið* has no short-syllabic counterpart **-ið*.

[15] In some cases, what appears to be compound shortening is actually historically a case of lengthening in simplices, e.g. *glasrut* [ˈɡɻàsˌrʉ:t] 'window pane', from older [ɡɻɑs] → [glɑ:s].

2.4.2 Pitch accent

Like most other North Germanic varieties in Sweden and Norway, Elfdalian distinguishes two pitch accents, traditionally called acute accent and grave accent, or accent 1 and accent 2, marked here using the non-IPA diacritics acute and grave accent. The pitch accent is phonemic: changing the accent of a word can change the meaning in a few cases: *mörken* /ˈmoér:ken/ 'darkness' (acute accent) versus *mörken* /ˈmȯér:ken/ 'to darken' (grave accent). In other cases, grammatical information is carried only by the accent: *fíngger* [ˈfíŋ:ger] 'finger.NOM/ACC' (acute accent) versus *fingger* [ˈfiŋ:ger] 'finger.DAT' (grave accent). As is evident from these examples, pitch accent is not marked in the orthography, but must be either inferred from the context or learnt explicitly. See also Figure 2.1.

Phonetically in focus position, the acute accent is realised as a rising-falling tone that is impressionistically similar to the stress accent of English. The grave accent is realised as a falling tone in the stressed syllable that rises again in the post-tonic syllable, giving it a 'double-peak accent' in focus position. This phonetic realisation is at its foundation similar to that found in Central Swedish, but different from that of southern Dalarna, where the grave accent is realised as a 'single-peak accent' in focus position, but with a later peak than the acute accent.

In non-focus position, the second peak of the grave accent is not realised, and the distinction is reduced to a difference in timing of the tonal contour.

The acute accent is mostly associated with monosyllables, such that unapocopated monosyllabic stems always have an acute accent, for

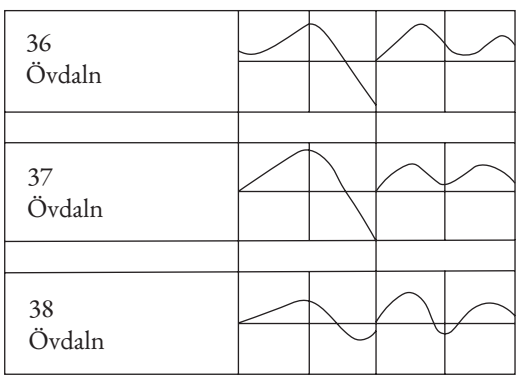

Figure 2.1 Three Elfdalian pitch patterns for the acute accent (left) and grave accent (right) (based on Meyer 1954).

example, *grais* [ɡrá:i̯s] ‘pig’; *tekst* [ték:st] ‘text’. The grave accent, on the other hand, is typically found in disyllabic stems, for example, *rakke* [ˈrȁk:e] ‘dog’; *tuppe* [ˈtʉ̀p:e] ‘rooster’. When inflectional suffixes are added to the stems, they often keep their accent, hence acute *graisn* [ˈɡrá:i̯sn̩] ‘the pig’ (← *grais*), but grave *rattjin* [ˈrȁt:ɛin] ‘the dog’ (← *rakke*); acute *tekstę* [ték:stę] ‘the text’ (← *tekst*), but grave *tuppin* [tʉ̀p:in] ‘the rooster’ (← *tuppe*).

Certain suffixes will, however, trigger a grave accent, for instance the plural suffix *-er*, hence *grais* (´), but plural *graiser* (`). Such is also the dative suffix *-e~-i* and its definite forms. Hence, a minimal pair is *buordę* (`) ‘the table.DAT’ (definite form of *buorde* (`) ‘table.DAT’) versus *buordę* (´) ‘the tables’ (definite form of monosyllabic *buord* tables).

In Central Swedish, a monosyllabic word can only have an acute accent, as there is no post-tonic syllable where the second peak can be realised. In Elfdalian, disyllabic words often lose their final syllable owing to apocope, but in these cases such words with a grave accent keep their accent. The apocopated monosyllabic word may realise its second peak on the following word if this is an unstressed monosyllabic word; for example, *an kam (´) it* ‘he did not come’, but *dier kam (`) it* ‘they did not come’, with a high falling tone on *kam* and a second falling peak on *it*, as *kam* in this case is an apocopated form of *kamu* ‘came.3PL’. However, if the word following the apocopated word has a stress on its own, the grave accent is realised only as a high tone on the apocopated word, for example, *main (`) fin (`) pärur* ‘my fine potatoes’. If the apocopated word is unstressed, the accent is neutralised altogether, as in the infinitive form of phrasal verbs, for example, *kasta* [ˈkȁs:tɑ] ‘to throw’ *kast ˈbrott* ‘throw away’, with the main stress on *brott* ‘away’.

A third accent is sometimes found in the literature, namely the *level accent*, found in short-syllabled words such as *bugi* ‘bow’. However, some regard this accent as a realisation of the grave accent. As both syllables are short, there is little time for the tonal gesture to fall, making the gesture plainer than in long-syllabled words and the first peak slightly more delayed. In addition, there is a difference in accent between a small number of words that are short-syllabled, for example, *agel* (´) ‘hail’, versus *agel* (`) ‘to hail’ or *mögel* (´) ‘mould’ versus *mögel* (`) ‘to mould’.

Compounds generally have a grave accent, regardless of the accent of the uncompounded word, hence *ienn* (´) ‘iron’ > *iennbru* (`) ‘iron bridge’; *dyörg* (´) ‘spider’ → *dyörgnęt* (`) ‘spider web’.

However, a number of compounds also have an acute accent. This is not uncommon in many compounds where the first element ends in a vowel, for example, *blå* ‘blue’ → *blåbruok* (´) ‘blue trousers’; *grå* ‘grey’ →

grårukk (´) 'horse fly'. Perfect participles of phrasal verbs also generally have an acute accent if the particle is monosyllabic, for example, *åveddjin* (´) 'chopped off' (← *ogg åv* 'to chop off'); *autkastað* (´) 'thrown out' (← *kast aut* 'to throw out'). In addition, a number of old compounds with an infixed *-s-* have an acute accent, for example, *landsweg* (´) 'country road'; *munnsrå* (´) 'corner of the mouth'. Lastly, compound words where the stem form is polysyllabic and has acute accent sometimes preserve this accent in compounds, for example, *okkymattj* (´) 'ice hockey match' or *nittiåringg* (´) 'ninety-year-old'.

2.4.3 Stress

The main stress in Elfdalian usually falls on the first root syllable. This is true for the majority of native words, for example, *rakke* [ˈrȁkːe] 'dog'; *nammen* [ˈnȁmːen] 'name'; *båkå* [ˈbɔ̀kɔ] 'to bake'.

There are, however, many exceptions. For instance, many loanwords have non-initial stress: *akudira* [ɑkʉˈdìːrɑ] 'to talk' (< Fr. *accorder*); *kumia* [kʉˈmìːɑ] 'anecdote' (< Lat. *comoedia*). However, the tendency is stronger than in Swedish to move the stress to the initial syllable in loanwords: *kamrat* [ˈkȁmːˌrɑːt] 'pal, comrade' (< Fr. *camarade*, cf. Sw. [kamˈrɑ́ːt]); *putell* [ˈpʉ̀telː] 'bottle' (< Fr. *bouteille*; cf. Sw. [bɔˈté̞lj]); *studir* [ˈstʉ̀diːr] 'to study' (< Lat. *studere*, cf. Sw. [stɔˈdéːra]).

Certain foreign suffixes are always stressed, for instance *-inna* '-ess'; *-log* '-logist'; *-siuon* '-tion'. Likewise, a few foreign prefixes are almost never stressed, for example, *fe(r)-* or *bi-* (both from Low German via Swedish). However, as seen earlier, while the verbal suffix *-ira* is stressed in verbs such as *akudira*, the same suffix has undergone permanent apocope in verbs such as *studir*, despite having the same etymological origin. In addition, verbs with stressed /i/ undergo conditional apocope non-finally and look like verbs on unstressed *-ir*, for example, *ig al ˈstudir (ˋ) nu* 'I will study now'; but *ig al akuˈdir (ˋ) nu* 'I will talk now'.

2.4.3.1 Secondary stress

In compound words a secondary stress falls on the second constituent. If the second constituent is in itself polysyllabic, the stress falls on the first syllable if this is long and followed by a short syllable: *kallnammen* [kȁlːˌnɑmːen] 'male name'. Otherwise, the secondary stress moves to the next syllable: *Övdalim* [ˈœːvdɑˌɽim] 'Övdaln.DAT (cf. *Övdaln* [ˈœːvˌdɑːln] 'Övdaln.NOM'), *siensåmår* [ˈsìːn̪ɛnsɔˌmɔr] 'late summer'. This is also true for derivations with long derivational suffixes, for example, *(n)ingg* '-ing';

-bar '-able'; *andpeningg* [ˈàn:dpeˌniŋ:g] 'deposit, key money'; *ų̈otaintjbar* [ˈȕə̯tɑintɕˌbɑ:r] 'unthinkable'.

2.4.3.2 Stress shift

When appearing at the end of an utterance, the stress of some polysyllabic words shifts from the first to the last syllable. This shift is restricted to a few parts of speech, namely some pronouns (*noger* [ˈnòɣer] → [noˈ[g]ér] 'someone'; *enner* [ˈèn:er] > [eˈnér] 'her.DAT', etc.); some prepositions (*yvyr* [ˈỳvyr] → [yˈvýr] 'over', etc.); and some adverbs (*older* [ˈòl:der] → [olˈder] 'never'; *itjä* [ˈìtɕæ] → [iˈtɕǽ] 'not', etc.).

This is also true for phrase-final personal names and kinship terms, when used in a vocative function (cf. Section 2.5.3.3 on vocative apocope), for example, *muna* [ˈmȕnɑ] → [mʉˈnɑ́:]. In these cases, geminated (long) consonants are not shortened, hence *Gunnar* [ˈgʉ́n:ɑr] → [gʉnˈnɑ́r].

2.5 Segmental processes

2.5.1 Palatalisation

The affricates ⟨tj⟩ /t͡ɕ/ and ⟨dj⟩ /d͡ʑ/ originated as palatalisations of /k/ and /g/ before historical high vowels /i/ and /y/, as well as before the palatal glide /j/, which can be seen in words such as *tjyr* 'cow' (< ON *kýr*). The original palatalising conditions have since been lost in many cases, which have given the affricates phonemic status. This is evident from minimal pairs such as *stjuot* 'shoot.PRS' and *skuot* 'shot' (noun).

Palatalisation affects short stops as in *tak* 'roof' → *tatji* 'roof.DAT', including when these follow /ŋ/ in their basic form: *saingg* [sɑ́i̯ŋ:g] 'bed' → *saindję* [sɑ́i̯n:dʑẽ] 'the bed'. It also affects long stops, for example, *egg* 'egg' → *eddjeð* 'the egg' or *rakke* 'dog' → *rattjin* 'the dog'.

This process has caused a lot of morpho-phonological alternations within paradigms throughout the language. A list of grammatical environments in which palatalisation occurs follows.

1) In nouns:
   a. In the definite singular form of nouns: *fisk* 'fish' → *fistjin* 'the fish'; *buok* 'book' → *buotję* 'the book'; *egg* 'egg' → *eddjeð* 'the egg'.
   b. Before the plural neuter definite suffix *-ę*: *aptiek* 'pharmacy' → *aptietję* 'the pharmacies'.
   c. Before any singular dative endings in strong nouns: *bukk* 'buck' → *buttje* 'buck.DAT'; *tak* 'roof, ceiling' → *tatji* 'roof.DAT'; *wegg* 'wall' → *weddjin* 'the wall.DAT'.

2) In verbs:
   a. In the infinitive of historical verbs ending on *-ja*: *byddja* 'to live, build', past tense *byggde*; *tyttja* 'to think', past tense *tykkte*.
   b. In the past participle of strong verbs: *tegga* 'to chew' → *tuddjeð* 'chewed'; *drikka* 'to drink' → *druttjeð* 'drunk'.
3) In adjectives:
   a. In the plural of some short-syllable adjectives: *frek* 'kind' → *fretjir* 'kind.PL'.
4) In pronouns:
   a. In the nominative masculine singular of the pronouns *indjin* 'no one', compare with the accusative *inggan*.
   b. In the nominative singular forms of *mitjin* 'much', including the nominative and accusative neuter form *mitjið*, compared with the nominative masculine and feminine plural form *mikkler* 'many'.
   c. The pronoun *slaik* 'such' when used as an adjective in the nominative masculine singular form *slaitjin* 'such, real': *slaitjin jäger ir ig* 'I am such a hunter'.

The exception to this rule is that a short *g* is not palatalised when following another vowel in a suffix; instead the *g* is elided: *tug* 'train' → *tueð* 'the train'. This is covered in Section 2.5.2.

2.5.2 Consonant deletion

2.5.2.1 Deletion of r and ð

Word-final [r] and [ð] that follow a vowel are as a rule deleted before another consonant in compounds such as *såmårdag* 'summer day' and *baðkar* 'bathtub',[16] that is, [ˈsɔ̀mɔˌdɑːɣ] and [ˈbɑ̀ːˌkɑːr], respectively. This is also true if the next word in the utterance begins with a consonant in phrases such as *under* 'under' → *under buordę* [ʊ̃nde ˈbʊ̀ːə̯rdẽ] 'under the table' or *iemteð berę* [ìe̞mte ˈbéːrẽ] 'picked berries'.

Final [r] and [ð] are also variably pronounced before inflectional or derivational suffixes beginning with a consonant. They are, for instance, not pronounced before the definite suffix *-n*: *stor* [stóːr] 'cane' → *storn* [stóːn] 'the cane'; *wið* [wíːð] 'firewood' → *wiðn* [ˈwíːn̩] 'the firewood'. Nor are they pronounced before the old genitive *-s* as in *et friðs* [et ˈfríːs:] 'satisfied, at peace', or before the passive suffix *-s* as in *biuoðs* [bjʊ́ːə̯s:] 'be

[16] In some areas, this does not occur before sonorous consonants such as /j r l/.

offered.PRS.SG'. In deponent verbs, the consonant deletion is shown in writing, for example, *andas* 'breathed' (← **andaðs*).

This deletion is normally not shown in the orthography, except in a few lexicalised compounds such as *mǫobruor* 'maternal uncle' (← *mǫor* 'mother' + *bruor* 'brother'); *famun* 'paternal grandmother' (← *far* 'father' + *muna* 'mother'); or some words or compounds where the etymology is not transparent: *ruogard* 'roundpole fence' (← *ruoð* 'pole' + *gard* 'yard').

2.5.2.2 Deletion of g

The consonant *-g* is subject to the same rule as described in Section 2.5.2.1, but only in a few words, namely pronouns ending on *-g*: *ig* 'I', *mig* 'me', *dig* 'you', *sig* 'oneself', *nog* 'some(one)', the conjunction *og* 'and' and words with the derivational endings *-ig, -lig, -ug*, as in *nog kaller* [no ˈkɑlːer] 'some men' or *riktug mjok* [rìkːtʉ mjóːk] 'real milk'.

2.5.2.2.1 Historical deletion of g

Root-final *-g* (realised as fricative [ɣ]) is also frequently deleted within paradigms. Diachronically, it was the case that *-g* deleted following a long vowel and before a suffix on historical **i* (i.e. *såg* 'saw' → *så'n* 'the saw.DAT' (< **så:gin*); *slag* 'strike.NOM' → *slaę* 'the strike.DAT' (< **sla:ginu*). In the modern language, these endings have often been lowered to /e/ and /ẽ/, or reduced to syllabic [n̩].

It was also the case that *-g* deleted intervocalically after all lengthened vowels (V → V:). Therefore, *-g* is not deleted in, for example, short-syllabled *dagum* [ˈdàɣʉm] 'days.DAT', nor is it deleted in long-syllabled *såger* [ˈsɔ̀ːɣer] 'saws'. It is, however, deleted in *daer* [ˈdàːer] 'days.NOM' (← **dagar*) and *bög* [bœ́ːɣ] 'bag.NOM' → *böa* [bœ̀ːɑ] 'bags.ACC' (< **belga*), as *-g* followed a historically short but later lengthened vowel, as opposed to the vowel in, for example, *såger*, which has always been long.

Because of these changes, it is difficult to predict with certainty the deletion of *-g*, but it generally occurs for words ending in *-g*:

1) In nouns before the endings *-'n*, *-eð*, *-ę*, *-em*, for example, *weg* 'road' → *we'n* 'the road', or *tug* 'train' → *tueð* 'the train'; and sometimes also before *-er*, *-a* and *-ą*, for example, *weer* 'roads', but *såger* 'saws'.
2) In adjectives before the endings *'n*, *-ę* and *-eð*, for example, *muo'n* 'ripe.M.NOM.SG', but *muognan* 'ripe.M.ACC.SG'; *truoeð* 'faithful.N.NOM.SG', but *truogner* 'faithful.M/F.NOM.PL'.
3) In verbs in the perfect participle of strong verbs, for example, *fliuoga* 'to fly' → *flueð* 'flown'.

2.5.3 Apocope

A ubiquitous phonological process is that of apocope, that is, the deletion of a final vowel. Apocope mostly occurs in long-syllabled words and mostly targeting the oral vowels /ɑ/, /e/ and /ʉ/, but as we shall see there are some exceptions. A distinction can be drawn between *permanent apocope* and *conditional apocope*.

2.5.3.1 Permanent apocope

2.5.3.1.1 Derivational apocope

Permanent apocope is lexicalised, that is, a given word is apocopated in its basic form. Such an apocope always occurs in compounds: *lånnett* 'fur hat' ← *etta* 'hat'; *leðerbelt* 'leather belt' ← *belte* 'belt'.[17] This is also true for the first element in compounds: *öve* 'river' → *Övdaln* 'Övdaln (name)'; *nakke* 'neck' → *nakkår* 'neck hair'. When an apocopated word is inflected, it is inflected as if the original vowel were still there, that is, *lånnettą* 'the fur hat'.

This process also applies to derivations with stressed prefixes, for example, *ǫo-* 'un-' + *sema* 'amity, harmony' → *ǫosem* 'quarrel'; *an-*(prefix) + *stella* 'put' → *anstell* 'to hire, to employ'.

The same rule applies to words that are not compounds per se, but which have the same accentuation as a compound word, for example, *mennistj* 'human', definite form *mennistją*; *alnakk* 'calendar', definite form *alnakką* (cf. the corresponding Swedish words *människa* and *almanacka* with unapocopated final vowels).

2.5.3.1.2 Three-syllable apocope

Permanent apocope also occurred in words with (originally) three syllables or more and initial stress: *fundir* 'to ponder' (cf. Sw. *fundera*); *ärend* 'errand' (cf. Sw. *ärende*); *klukker* 'sacristan' (cf. Sw. *klockare*); *kasteð* 'threw' (cf. Sw. *kastade*), and so on.

2.5.3.1.3 Sonorant apocope

Permanent apocope also occurred in disyllabic words that in an earlier stage of the language ended in a combination of a sonorant, that is, /l n r/ + a vowel /ɑ e ʉ/. Such words underwent permanent apocope but kept their disyllabicity, either because the remaining consonant became syllabic, for example, *åsn* 'donkey' (cf. Sw. *åsna*), or because of the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, for example, *yppen* 'to open' (cf. Sw. *öppna*). This process explains the absence of an infinitive vowel in many verbs or the absence of a vowel in many independent adjectives.

[17] Some invectives constitute an exception to this rule: *kattliuote!* 'damn cat!'.

2.5.3.2 Conditional apocope

Long-syllabled words ending on oral /ɑ/, /e/ and /ʉ/ lose their final vowel when followed by another word, a process known as conditional apocope. This occurs whenever a word is followed by another word. When the word is utterance-final or followed by a pause, the final vowel is not apocopated. Hence, the final vowel of the words *willdu* 'wanted.3PL', *sakta* 'indeed' and *tjyöpa* 'to buy' are apocopated in a phrase such as *dier willd sakt tjyöp mjotję* 'they actually wanted to buy milk'. But in *mjotję willd dier sakt tjyöpa* 'milk is what they actually wanted to buy', the final vowel in *tjyöpa* remains unapocopated as this word is utterance-final.

A polysyllabic word with grave accent keeps its grave accent even though the final syllable is lost. The apocopated monosyllabic word either gets a high tone or the second high tonal peak of the grave accent is realised on the following word. See further Section 2.4.2 on pitch accent.

2.5.3.3 Vocative apocope

A special type of apocope occurs in some personal names and kinship terms when used as a vocative in utterance-final position. As opposed to apocopated words with a grave accent, which retain their accent when the final vowel is lost, words in the vocative change to an acute accent, hence: *Lasse* (ˋ) 'Lars, Laurence' > *Lass* (ˊ); *muna* (ˋ) 'mother' > *mun* (ˊ). A related phenomenon is that of stress shift, whereby the lexical stress of disyllabic words shifts to the final syllable when used as a vocative and utterance-finally. See further Section 2.4.3.2 on stress shift.

2.5.3.4 Apocope of short-syllabled words

Although apocope only applies to long-syllabled words, there are some exceptions. Certain highly frequent short-syllabled verbs may also undergo conditional apocope. This apocope often appears with particles and in fixed expressions, for example, *djävå* 'to give' → *djäv upp* 'give up'; *leså* 'to read' → *les gainum* 'to read through', compared with unapocopated *båkå* 'to bake' → *båkå aut* 'to mould a dough'.

In addition to losing their final vowel, verbs with /ɔ/ as a root vowel change this vowel to /ɑ/ when apocopated:[18] *gråvå* 'to dig' → *grav upp* 'to dig up'; *åvå* 'to have' → *av kwer* 'to have left'.[19]

[18] Historically, it is primarily the case that the final vowel was apocopated before the change [ɑ] > [ɔ] occurred in short-syllabled roots; see Section 2.5.5 on vowel harmony.

[19] The common verbs *wårå* 'to be' and *fårå* 'to go' have two apocopated forms in some areas: unstressed *war* and *far* according to the described pattern, but also *wår* and *får* in some stressed contexts.

2.5.4 Epenthesis

2.5.4.1 Vowel epenthesis and syncope

In many final clusters, Elfdalian inserted an epenthetic vowel [e] to break up a consonant + a liquid,[20] for example, *andel* 'to shop' (< **andl* < **handla*); *wander* 'to walk, wander' (< **wandr* < **wandra*), both with sonorant apocope (see Section 2.5.3.1.3); *tunggel* 'moon' (< **tungl*). This also occurred between non-alveolar consonants + /n/, for example, *swemmen* 'sleep' (< **swemn*); *sokken* 'parish' (< **sokn*), but *wattn* 'to water' (< **wattna*).

This epenthesis does not occur when the cluster is followed by another vowel, hence *tunggleð* 'the moon', *swemnem* 'the sleep.DAT'. Nouns like these usually have an acute accent in their basic form if they were historically monosyllabic, that is, *swemmen* (´) and *tunggel* (´), but *andel* (`), for example.

Another process that synchronically looks very similar is that of syncope. In words ending on a short vowel + a short consonant, the vowel is syncopated before vowel-initial endings: *gaffel* 'fork' → *gaffler* 'forks'; *evil* 'pole (for carrying hay)' → *evlem* 'pole.DAT' (i.e. not **gaffeler*, **eviler*).

A small number of short-syllabled words are exceptions to this rule, for example, *eril* 'hearth' → *eriler* 'hearths'; *byryl* 'lad, whippersnapper' → *byrylem* 'lad.DAT'.

In cases such as *nytjyl* 'key' → *nykkler* 'keys', the /y/ causes palatalisation in the singular form but is syncopated in the plural form, preventing palatalisation.

2.5.4.2 Stop epenthesis

In the history of Elfdalian, an epenthetic voiced stop was inserted in the consonant clusters /mr ml lr/. This epenthetic stop has the same place of articulation as the first consonant of the cluster, that is, /b/ for /mr/ and /ml/; /d/ for /lr/, therefore *sumbrer* 'summers' (cf. *såmår* 'summer' without /b/; *imblem* 'the sky.DAT' (cf. *imil* 'sky'); *taldrikk* 'plate' (cf. Sw. *tallrik*). In many cases, an epenthetic vowel has been inserted to break up the cluster, obfuscating the original rule, hence, for example, *sumber* 'summer.DAT' (< **sumbre*); *elder* 'rather' (< **hellre*). See also Section 2.5.3.1.3 on sonorant apocope.

A more synchronic stop epenthesis reminiscent of this can be seen in words containing the cluster /mt/, where speakers sometimes insert a [p], such as *mymta* [ˈmỳm:(p)tɑ] 'mint'.

[20] In some villages [i].

2.5.4.3 n epenthesis

In nouns ending on a long vowel, an epenthetic /n/ is inserted before some vocalic endings to avoid hiatus. This is primarily seen before the suffix *-ę* as, for example, the definite form of feminine nouns: *bru* 'bridge' → *brunę* 'the bridge'; as the definite plural form of neuter nouns: *kni* 'knee' > *kninę* 'the knees'; and in the dative definite form of neuter nouns as well: *trai* 'tree' → *trainę* 'the tree.DAT'.

The epenthetic /n/ is also found irregularly in the plural form of some words ending on a long vowel: *ljå* 'scythe' → *ljåner* 'scythes'; *skuo* 'shoe' > *skuoner* 'shoes'; and *kluo* 'claw' → *klyöner* 'claws' (with umlaut). It is also irregularly found in two words ending on a consonant. Those are the plural form of *tjyr* 'cow' → *tjyner* 'cows', and before *-ę* in *trug* 'trough, tray' → *trunę* 'the troughs; trough.DAT'.

2.5.5 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony occurs in certain short-syllabled words. Two types can be discerned:

The first type occurs in short-syllabled words with the vowel /ɑ/ and is a type of regressive vowel harmony, sometimes called *metaphony* or *vowel levelling*. In these words, the suffix vowels /ɔ/ or /æ/ affect the quality of the vowel /ɑ/, which assimilates to either /ɔ/ or /æ/. Compare, for example, *båkå* 'bake.INF' and *bäkär* 'bake.PRS.SG', with harmony, to *bakka* 'bacc.INF' and *bakker* 'bacc.PRS.SG', a long-syllable word with no vowel harmony. Nominative *spaði* 'spade' lacks harmony, but its oblique form *spåðå* has harmony /ɑ/ → /ɔ/. Similarly, harmony shows up in the nominative *åmår* 'hammer', but not in its long-syllabled dative form *amber*. In words such as *rað* 'line' and *grav* 'grave', with the plural suffix *-är*, the vowel undergoes harmony here as well: *räðär*, *grävär*. In at least one case, *såmår* 'summer', the harmony has also affected the vowel /ʉ/, as this vowel shows up in the long-syllabled forms of the paradigm, for example, the dative *sumber*.

The second type is a progressive type of harmony. This vowel harmony operated historically on the suffix *-il* in short-syllabled words, where the vowel /y/ causes the assimilation of the vowel in the last syllable of the word likewise into /y/; compare, for example, *nytjyl* (< ON *lykill*) 'key' and *dypyl* 'deep water', with harmony, but *imil* 'heaven' and *kevil* 'piece of wood', with no harmony.

2.5.6 Umlaut

Like all other Germanic languages, Elfdalian has a series of vowel alternations known as umlaut, shown in Table 2.8, akin to, for example, English *foot* → *feet*. These are found, for instance, in the plural of certain nouns, for example, *buok* 'book' → *byöker* 'books'; in the comparative form of adjectives, for example, *tungg* 'heavy' → *tyngger(a)* 'heavier' and in certain derivations, for instance, verbal derivations of nouns: *warm* 'warm, hot' → *werma* 'to heat' (see Table 2.8).

Table 2.8 Umlaut alternations

Umlaut					**Example**
⟨a⟩	/ɑ/	>	⟨e⟩	/e/	*fast* 'fast, stuck' > *festa* 'to fasten'
⟨au⟩	/ɑʉ̯/	>	⟨åy⟩	/ɔy̯/	*laus* 'louse' > *låyser* 'lice'
⟨o⟩	/o/	>	⟨ö⟩	/œ/	*og* 'high' > *öger(a)* 'higher'
⟨u⟩	/ʉ/	>	⟨y⟩	/y/	*ungg* 'young' > *yngger(a)* 'younger'
⟨uo⟩	/ʉə̯/	>	⟨yö⟩	/yœ̯/	*buok* 'root' > *byöker* 'books'
⟨ą̊⟩	/õ/	>	⟨ę⟩	/ẽ/	*nąt* 'night' > *nęter* 'nights'

In some cases, other historical vowel changes have rendered more irregular patterns, for instance *stur* 'big' > *styörra* 'bigger'; *laungg* 'long' > *lainggd* 'length'; *fårå* 'to go' > *ferið* 'gone'; *tån* 'toe' > *töner* 'toes'.

2.5.7 Sandhi involving [ð]

Initial /d/ in pronouns and the most common adverbs, which goes back to ON þ, changes to [ð] over word-boundaries if the previous word ends in a vowel sound. Examples with some pronouns: *fy diem* [fỳ: ðíːẹm] 'follow them'; *i dyö* [i ˈðýːœ̯] 'in it.DAT'. The adverbs that undergo that change are *dar* 'there', *dan(ę)* 'there', *dait* 'thereto, thither', as well as compounds with these, for example, *dai'tter*, 'thereto, thither', *dieðą̊*, *dieðą̊ter* 'from there, thence'. For instance, *og dar* [o ˈðɑːr] 'and there', *og dą̊* [o ˈðõː] 'and then'.

This is also true if a previous consonant [r] or [ɣ] is deleted according to the rule in Section 2.5.2: *ig og du* [íːɣ o ðúː] 'you and I (lit. 'I and you')'; *truor du?* [trúːə̯ ðúː] 'do you think?'. The rule sometimes does not apply if the previous word ends in [ð] itself, as in *eð-dar* [edˈdɑ́ːr] 'that.N'.

The effect of this is that the main allophone of the /d/ phoneme is [d] in word-initial position, but may also be [ð] in a few lexical items if preceded by a vowel. This creates near-minimal pairs such as *an ir [d]ansk* 'he is Danish' versus *an ir [ð]ar* 'he is there'. One could perhaps even argue that /ð/ forms a marginal phoneme in these specific words.

2.5.8 Metathesis

Elfdalian shows some instances of metathesis in verbal and adjectival paradigms of /sk/ → /ks/ which is also shown in writing. In adjectives this can occur in a few words before the neuter suffix *-t*, for example, *besk* 'bitter' → *bekst*; *fesk* 'fresh' → *fekst*; *frisk* 'healthy' → *frikst*. It also occurs in some verbs before the past tense suffix *-te* and the participle *-t*. However, the original sequence /sk/ has in all cases been palatalised to /st͡ɕ/ in the infinitive (see Section 2.5.1), for example, *fistja* 'to fish' → *fikste, fikst*; *slestja* 'to throw, splash' → *slekste, slekst*; *twestja* 'to cause a splashing sound' → *twekste, twekst* (alongside *tweskte, tweskt*); *yönstja* 'to wish' → *yönkste, yönkst*.

In addition to this, there has also been metathesis of many earlier initial *wr → rw: *rweka* 'to heave, throw, evict' (cf. Eng. *wreak*); *rwaiða* 'to turn' (cf. Eng. *writhe*); *rwaungg* 'reluctant, stubborn' (cf. Eng. *wrong*).

3
Articles and nouns

As Elfdalian articles are closely associated with nouns, both topics are treated in this chapter. The classification, forms and use of articles and nouns are accounted for here. Finally, the noun phrase and the noun's accent patterns are described.

3.1 Classification of nouns and articles

Elfdalian nouns can belong to one of three genders: masculine, feminine or neuter. Most nouns can be declined for number – singular and plural; definiteness – definite and indefinite; and case – nominative, accusative and dative.[1]

Nouns may have a concrete denotation, as in *buord* 'table', an abstract denotation, as in *wit* 'reason; wit; sense; intellect', or both concrete and abstract, as in *wekst* 'growth', either in the agricultural or economic sense.

Nouns may either be count, for example, *pära* 'potato' (*pärur* in the plural form), or non-count, for example, *weðer* 'weather; wind; air', which cannot be counted and cannot be put in the plural form.

The noun may appear in three types of definiteness: 1) with no article at all, as in *lärer* 'teacher'; 2) with the indefinite article, which agrees with the noun it modifies in number, gender and case, for example, *ien lärer* 'a teacher'; 3) with the definite article, for example, *lärern* 'the teacher'. Nouns occurring with no definite articles, as in 1) and 2), can also be

[1] The original genitive case is only used in some fixed idioms, and the vocative case is used with a few nouns (see also Section 3.2.4.2).

denoted as 'nouns in the indefinite form', whereas nouns occurring with an indefinite article can also be denoted as 'nouns in the definite form'. Throughout this chapter, the definite forms of the nouns are provided as a part of the noun declension.

3.1.1 Gender of the noun

The gender of the Elfdalian noun is often unpredictable from the form or meaning of the noun. Rather, the gender is manifested by the *modifiers* of the noun (i.e. articles, adjectives and pronouns) agreeing with the nouns they modify, for example, *ien stuol* (m.) 'a chair', *ję jågd* (f.) 'a weekend', *iet liuos* (n.) 'a light'.

Masculine, feminine and neuter pronouns in the third person singular agree with the nouns they modify. For animate nouns, the gender is usually equal to the sex. For non-animate, it can be any of three genders. Hence, *båt* (m.) 'boat' is referred to as *an* 'he', *suol* (f.) 'sun' as *ą̊* 'she' and *aus* (n.) 'house' as *eð* 'it'.

In Sections 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.1.2, some rules are provided as to identifying the gender of the noun by means of semantic and formal criteria.

3.1.1.1 Gender prediction by meaning

Nouns denoting male humans and animals are usually masculine, whereas those denoting female humans and animals usually take the feminine, for example, *kall* (m.) 'man' and *ukse* (m.) 'bull', but *kelingg* (f.) '(married) woman; wife' and *tjyr* (f.) 'cow'. Gender-neutral words for humans usually take the masculine gender, for example, *kripp* (m.) 'child', *djäst* 'guest', *wenn* (m.) 'friend' and *kompis* (m.) 'mate, pal'. Some exceptions to these rules are embodied by the gender of the words *menistj* (f.) 'human being', *fuok* (n.) 'person, individual', *mannfuok* (n.) 'man' and *kwinnfuok* (n.) 'woman'.

Many nouns denoting trees take the feminine gender, for example, *asp* 'aspen', *byörk* 'birch', *grån* 'Norway spruce', *raungen* 'rowan' and *selda* 'goat willow'. Some exceptions to this rule are embodied by *toll* (m.) 'Scots pine' and the loanword *palm* (m.) 'palm-tree'.

3.1.1.2 Gender prediction by form

3.1.1.2.1 Masculine

Many nouns ending in a consonant are masculine, for example, *stuol* 'chair'. Many native disyllabic nouns ending in *-e* (long-syllabled), or *-i* (short-syllabled) are masculine, for example, *skugge* 'shadow; shade' and *risi* 'giant'.[2]

[2] The term 'native' here means that they belong to the traditional or inherited Elfdalian vocabulary.

Some common native masculine suffixes:

-að	*månað* 'month', *stjilnað* 'difference'
-duom	*fattigduom* 'poverty', *ieðnduom* 'paganism'
-e	*brinde* 'moose', *laime* 'broom'
-el	*tembel* 'lamb', *gaffel* 'fork'
-er/-är	*ager* 'oats', *skoter* 'scooter', *mịester* 'master', *skuomäkär* 'shoemaker'
-i	*eri* 'hare', *stitji* 'ladder'
-il	*imil* 'sky', *ketil* 'kettle'
-liek	*sturliek* 'size', *tjärliek* 'love'
-ul	*aksul* 'wheel axle', *okul* 'ankle'
-ur	*mulduotur* 'field vole', *työður* 'western capercaillie'
-yl	*nytjyl* 'key', *tyryl* 'fool; unruly boy'

Some common loanword masculine suffixes:

-ant	*elefant* 'elephant', *priðikant* 'preacher'
-ent	*intendent* 'manager; curator', *student* 'student'
-i	*kafi* 'café', *idi* 'idea'
-ik	*fabrik* 'factory', *matematik* 'maths'
-ist	*artist* 'artist', *sosialist* 'socialist'
-or	*dator* 'computer'
-siuon	*aksiuon* 'auction', *stasiuon* 'station'
-tiet	*kwalitiet* 'quality', *universitiet* 'university'
-ur	*kultur* 'culture', *natur* 'nature'
-ör	*direktör* 'director', *amatör* 'amateur'

3.1.1.2.2 Feminine

Many nouns ending in a consonant are feminine, for example, *buok* 'book'. Many disyllabic native nouns ending in *-a* (long-syllabled) or *-å* (short-syllabled) are feminine, for example, *kulla* 'girl' and *flugå* 'fly'. Some (but far fewer than masculine) disyllabic nouns ending in *-e* are likewise feminine, for example, *öve* 'river'.

Some common native feminine suffixes:

-a	*bia* 'bee', *kelda* spring
-d/-t	*jågd* 'weekend', *lainggd* 'length', *jakt* 'hunt', *wekst* 'growth'
-els[3]	*birettels* 'story', *fyöðels* 'birth'

[3] Some nouns ending in *-els* are neuter. See Section 3.1.1.2.3.

-iet[4]	*lägeniet* 'apartment', *ärligiet* 'honesty'
-ingg	*kelingg* 'woman', *ridjiringg* 'government'
-sk	*saunggesk* 'singer', *siuokstjyötesk* 'nurse'
-å	*flugå* 'fly', *wikå* 'week'

Some weak feminine words lose their final *-a* owing to permanent apocope (see Section 2.5.3.1.3) and hence lose their final *-a*, for example, *kwegel* 'cone'.

3.1.1.2.3 Neuter

Many nouns ending in a consonant are neuter, for example, *nev* 'nose'. A few disyllabic neuters ending in *-a* and *-e* are likewise neuter.

Some common native neuter suffixes:

-a	*fieta* 'fat', *oga* 'eye', *ära* 'ear'
-e	*enne* 'forehead', and *myöte* 'meeting'
-els	*rätjels* 'incense'[5]
-yr	*krytyr* 'animal, livestock, tame animal'

Common suffixes among loanwords ending in stressed *-at* and *-um* are neuter:

-at	*riservat* 'reserve'
-um	*datum* 'date (in calendar)', *sentrum* 'centre'

3.1.2 Forms of definite and indefinite articles

Table 3.1 demonstrates a declension of a noun, namely the masculine noun *kripp* 'child' in the indefinite and definite forms, singular and plural numbers, as well as in the nominative, the accusative and the dative cases. The indefinite article only exists in the singular and is shown in parentheses. The definite suffixes are marked in bold. Note that the dative plural has an identical suffix, *-um*, in both the definite and the indefinite forms.

[4] Note that the suffix *-tiet* is common among masculine nouns. See Section 3.1.1.2.1.

[5] The suffix *-els* is more common among feminine nouns. See Section 3.1.1.2.2.

Table 3.1 Example of the declension of the definite suffix

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	(ien) kripp	kripp**in**		NOM	kripper	kripp**är**
	ACC				ACC	krippa	kripp**ą**
	DAT	(ienum) krippe	kripp**em**		DAT	kripp**um**	

Table 3.2 demonstrates the declension of the indefinite article.

Table 3.2 The declension of the indefinite article *ien* 'a/an'

	M	F	N
NOM	ien	ję	iet
ACC		ien	iet
DAT	ienum	ien	ien

Tables 3.3 and 3.4 provide an overview of the noun declension in the indefinite and definite forms, respectively, with some long-syllabled nouns used as examples. The definite suffixes are provided in bold. Note that these suffixes are subject to change depending on the nouns they modify. For the exact form of noun in its definite forms, see the specific noun type and possible subsequent notes, as the definite suffix may cause a modification in the root of the noun, for example, *tak* 'roof', but *tatjeð* 'the roof'.

Table 3.3 Overview of the noun declension in the indefinite form (examples with long-syllabled nouns)

number	case	M	F	N
SG	NOM	kall	nåł	buord
	ACC			
	DAT	kall**e**		buord**e**
PL	NOM	kall**er**	nåł**er**	buord
	ACC	kall**a**		
	DAT	kall**um**	nåł**um**	buord**um**

Table 3.4 Overview of the noun declension in the definite form (examples with long-syllabled nouns)

number	case	M	F	N
SG	NOM	kall**n**	nål**ę**	buord**eð**
	ACC			
	DAT	kalle**m**	nål**n**	buord**ę**
PL	NOM	kall**är**	nål**är**	buord**ę**
	ACC	kall**ą**		
	DAT	kall**um**	nål**um**	buord**um**

Note: The article or independent pronoun *dan* exists, but is used in very few contexts, sometimes as a variant of *an* 'that', and sometimes with the pronouns *ien* 'one' and *oðer* 'other', for example, *dan iena* 'the one' and *dan oðern* 'the other' (see also *dan oðern* in Section 5.7).

3.1.3 Definiteness – types and use

As mentioned in Section 3.1, Elfdalian nouns may appear with either no article, with the indefinite article or with the definite article (definite suffix). Moreover, the articles agree with the noun they modify. This section accounts for the three types of definiteness and their use.

3.1.3.1 Articleless nouns

Nouns are used without any article in various contexts: kinship terms, professions or role, as well as in some idiomatic constructions. Moreover, the articleless structure may occur with some nouns, when some definite structures are avoided owing to modifying adjectives or pronouns.

3.1.3.1.1 Kinship terms

Nouns denoting close family members are most commonly used without an article or a possessive pronoun (especially if there is one of them, in the case of which a specification would be superfluous). Nouns denoting uncles or aunts are often used as compounds with the name as the first element:

> **Swen byggd jär og arbiet að <u>faðer</u>.**
> Swen used to live here and work for dad (or: 'my father').
>
> **<u>Ulåv-bil</u> djäv krippum juolklappą.**
> Uncle Ulåv gives the children Christmas presents.

3.1.3.1.2 Professions, roles, nationalities

When a noun is used predicatively to describe a person's role, profession or nationality, it is used with no article:

Fåder war <u>skuomäkär</u>.
My/our father was a shoemaker.

Mun war <u>lärer</u>.
Mum was a teacher.

Grann ụor ir <u>ainggelsmann</u>.
Our neighbour is English (lit. 'Englishman').

3.1.3.1.3 Annulled definite form

The use of abstract and category nouns in the definite form (see Section 3.1.3.3.3 as well as 3.1.3.3.4) is annulled when this type of noun is modified by adjectives, some pronouns (for the pronouns and the definiteness they govern, see Section 5.13) as well as expressions with prepositions denoting quantity. In such cases, the noun is used without an article:

Ig bruker it dugå settj mig ą̊ slietan <u>bokka</u>.
I normally cannot sit down on smooth ground.INDEF (cf. *ą̊ bokkan.*DEF 'on the ground').

Ittåd ir iet guott <u>smyör</u>.
This is good butter.INDEF (cf. *smyöred.*DEF '(some) butter').

Åtum mikklan <u>gröt</u>.
We had a lot of porridge.INDEF (cf. *grötn.*DEF '(some) porridge').

nog drupå åv <u>mjok</u>
some drops of milk

Tråyą war full i <u>åre</u>.
The sweater is full of hair.

3.1.3.1.4 Idiomatic constructions

When two nouns are connected by *boð ... og* 'both ... and', as well as *warkin ... eld* (neither ... nor):

Du får snåårt ien måg so ar boð <u>est</u> og <u>lass</u>.
You will soon have a son-in-law who has both a horse and a load (metaphorically meaning a wealthy son-in-law).

Ð̣ ar int weð laikt ingg, warkin <u>såmår</u> eld <u>witter</u>.
It hasn't resembled (or been like) anything, neither summer nor winter.

3.1.3.2 Nouns in the indefinite form

Nouns are used in the indefinite form when count nouns are introduced in the proposition, or when a definite form of the noun is annulled for some reason. Nouns are used in the indefinite form when they are introduced in the proposition.

3.1.3.2.1 Introducing new information

The indefinite form of the noun, with the indefinite article, is used when count nouns are introduced in the proposition:

Järr ir <u>i̧e bru</u>.
Here is a bridge.

Ð̣ fanns int <u>i̧e</u> enda <u>woffel</u> dar upå skåpę.
There was not one single wafer in the cupboard.

Ð̣ war <u>ien affärsman</u>, so seld merkärdug tabletta.
There was a businessman, who was selling strange tablets.

3.1.3.2.2 Annulled form of articleless nouns

When articleless nouns of the type showed in Section 3.1.3.1.2 (denoting professions, nationalities and roles) acquire an adjective modifier, and the noun phrase remains indefinite, the indefinite article is added:

Ạ̊ ir <u>ien guoð lärer</u>.
She is a good teacher (cf. *Ạ̊ ir <u>lärer</u>* 'She is a teacher').

An ir <u>ien laungg noske</u>.
He is a tall Norwegian (cf. *An ir <u>noske</u>* 'He is a Norwegian').

3.1.3.3 Indefinite nouns with an indefinite article

Nouns in the indefinite form with an indefinite article are most often used like in English.

3.1.3.3.1 Subject as theme in the clause

When the subject is the theme or a part of the theme in a clause, it is most commonly in the definite form:

<u>Kullą</u> ietter Emma.
The girl.DEF is named Emma.

<u>Suolę</u> skain.
The sun.DEF is shining.DEF.

<u>Kelindję</u> kunnd trylla.
The woman.DEF knew how to practise witchcraft.

<u>Grånär</u> irå gryöner.
Spruces.DEF are green.

3.1.3.3.2 Context-based use

When the referent is implied from the context, the definite form is used:

<u>Wardjin</u>, ig ar si'tt, ir liuoträsklin.
The wolf.M.NOM.SG.DEF I have seen is very scary.

Ig ärd <u>gossn</u> suoräð.
I heard the boy answering (lit. 'the boy answered') (which boy is implied from previous sentences or from the discourse context).

Sę fuor ig og wermd upp <u>åvkuotję</u> so war i <u>pannun</u>.
Then I went to heat up the broth, which was in the pan (the subordinate clause defines the broth).

3.1.3.3.3 Generic use

When nouns appear in general, 'law-like' statements about the species, type or class, the definite form is used:

<u>Grånär</u> irå gryöner.
Spruces.F.NOM.PL.DEF are green.

<u>Fuglum</u> al an då fel it stilla, itjä.[6]
Birds.F.DAT.PL.DEF one should certainly not feed.

<u>Kupärn</u> roster it.
Copper.M.NOM.SG.DEF doesn't rust.

[6] This sentence may also be interpreted as referring to specific birds.

Addum rakkan.
We used to have a dog.M.ACC.SG.DEF.[7] (As opposed to *addum ien rakka* 'we had a/one dog'.)

3.1.3.3.4 Non-delimited use

Sometimes called 'partitive', this category partially contains non-count nouns in the singular form, as well as unspecific quantities of count nouns in the plural form. The non-count nouns may denote substances, abstract phenomena, diseases, pains, study fields and languages.

This use may sometimes entail a focus shift from the quantity of the referent used in a non-delimited sense to the action or process concerned.

Åtum grötn.
We had some porridge.M.ACC.SG.DEF.

Du lupter brendwinį.
You smell of schnapps.N.DAT.SG.DEF.

Kollt ir ið og sniųostattjin ollsta'ss.
It is cold and there is plenty of snow.M.NOM.SG.DEF (*stakk* 'masses, plenty'; *sniųostakk* 'plenty of snow; snow mass') everywhere.

Ið war uonloseą upi Övdalim ån tiðę.
Hopelessness.F.NOM.SG.DEF prevailed in Övdaln in those days.

Jannes duo og ið war stelln.
Jannes died and there was (great) commotion.M.NOM.SG.DEF.

Ið ar funnes fistjin järföre.
There used to be fish.M.SG.NOM.DEF (fish as species) here before.

Järbyddjer ið kallär.
(Some) men.PL.DEF live here (lit. 'Here it lives (the) men').

Ið wekser berę niðmin weem.
Berries.N.NOM.PL.DEF grow (lit. 'It grows berries') along the road.

Åvå dier krippą?
Do they have (any) children.M.ACC.PL.DEF?

Baiðum etter swarę.
We are waiting for an/some answer.N.DAT.SG.DEF.

[7] Here, the focus is less on the quantity of dogs owned and rather on 'dog-owning' fact.

An ir å <u>rịesun</u> sta'dd.
He is on a trip.F.DAT.SG.DEF (or He is in the process of travelling).

Ig fikk <u>tannwertjin</u>.
I got a toothache.M.ACC.SG.DEF.

Kullą ar <u>sårskollan</u>.
The girl has a headache.M.ACC.SG.DEF (lit. 'the sore head').

Sturer tykkt ig ulld elder old å min <u>landlärun, istorun, rekknindjin og språklärun</u>.
The adults thought I should rather devote my time to geography.F, DAT.SG.DEF, history.F.DAT.SG.DEF, mathematics.F.DAT.SG.DEF and grammar.F.DAT.SG.DEF.

Lärinną addum bigript it <u>dalskų</u> noð warut.
The teacher we had didn't really understand Elfdalian.F.ACC.SG.DEF.

3.1.3.3.5 Nouns indicating weather, time or other external circumstances
These are used in the definite form:

Ð ir <u>guoðweðred</u> boð aut og inne.
There is good weather.N.NOM.SG.DEF both outdoors and indoors.

Ð kumb <u>wåtað</u> uvåter.
Precipitation.N.NOM.SG.DEF is coming from above.

Mę <u>nåtę</u> ir.
When it is night.F.NOM.SG.DEF; at night.

Mę <u>såmårn</u> ir.
When it is summer.M.NOM.SG.DEF; during summer.

<u>wikų</u> so war.
last week.F.ACC.SG.DEF (lit. '(during) the week that has been').

oðer <u>da'n</u>.
(on) the next day.M.NOM.SG.DEF.

3.1.3.3.6 Body parts and clothing
Where English uses possessive pronouns to express body parts, Elfdalian uses the definite article when the owner is implied from the context:

Ur ietter ð an ar å <u>nevum</u>?
How do you call what he has in his hands.M.DAT.PL.DEF (lit. 'on the hands')?

An brot åv sig <u>fuotn</u>.
He broke his leg.M.ACC.SG.DEF (lit. 'He broke off himself the leg').

Å ar uorteð grå i <u>skollam</u>.
She turned grey-haired.M.DAT.SG.DEF (lit. 'She has become grey in the head').

Ur dug du åvå so mitjið ini <u>skollam</u>?
How can you keep so much in your head.M.DAT.SG.DEF (lit. 'How can you have so much inside the head?')?

<u>Attn</u> flog åv ånum.
His hat.M.NOM.SG.DEF flew off (lit. 'The hat flew off him').

Ig får luv tag åv mig <u>tråyų</u>.
I have to take my sweater.F.ACC.SG.DEF (lit. 'I have to take off me the sweater').

3.1.3.3.7 Place names

Some Elfdalian place names are in the definite form, for example, *Övdaln* 'Övdaln' (lit. 'the river valley')', and *Åsär* 'the village Åsär' or *Åsbynn* (lit. Swedish *Åsen*) (lit. 'ridges.PL.DEF') (see also Section 13.2.2).

3.1.3.4 Definiteness with pronouns and in fixed idioms

The use of noun definiteness may vary in connection with modifying pronouns, as some pronouns 'govern' the indefinite and yet others 'govern' the definite form of the noun. Likewise, definiteness may vary in fixed idioms. Hence, the use of noun definiteness in such cases has to be learned separately.

Ittað <u>wattneð</u> ir guott.
This water.N.NOM.SG.DEF is tasty (the demonstrative pronoun *ittað* takes the definite form).

<u>kullą</u> mąi
my daughter.F.NOM.SG.DEF (post-noun possessive pronouns usually take the definite form)

<u>pennskrineð</u> kullun
the girl's pencil-box.N.NOM.SG.DEF (lit. 'the pencil-box of the girl')

<u>Rutes</u> kall
Ruth's husband.M.SG.INDEF ('possessed' persons or objects located after the possessor in the clause take the indefinite form)

i <u>dag</u>; i <u>kweld</u>
today.M.SG.INDEF; this evening.M.SG.INDEF

um <u>nåt</u>
for the night.F.SG.INDEF (e.g. in *sta'nn um <u>nåt</u>* 'stay the night, stay overnight')

mitt i <u>nåtn</u>
in the middle of the night.F.SG.DAT.DEF

å <u>by</u>
on a visit; for a visit.INDEF

djär <u>lag</u>
accompany, help each other (lit. 'make a team.N.ACC.SG.INDEF')

3.1.3.5 Indeclinable nouns

Some nouns are indeclinable and can thus lack a definite form. Some of those nouns consist of loanwords or colloquial words.

Some deverbal nouns in the neuter belong to this category, such as *kåyt* or *kåytan* 'running', *lyrp* or *lyrpan* 'running about', as well as others ending in *-an*. Moreover, the following nouns are indeclinable: *bile* (m.) 'uncle', *lutji* (unknown gender) 'reflection of the sun', *jätå* (n.) '(cooked) food', *pappa* (m.) 'dad',[8] *pipi* (m.) 'penis' (colloquial), *teve* (m.) 'TV'.

Non-count nouns of this category can neither take an indefinite nor a definite article, for example, *ieko* (n.) 'echo', *gummi* (n.) 'rubber', *kakao* (n.) 'cocoa', *kaffi* (n.) 'coffee',[9] *mụor*[10] (f.) '(someone's own) wife' (only declinable in the genitive, i.e. *mụores*), piano (n.) 'piano', *pupu* 'horse' (colloquial), *tjytjy* 'dog' (colloquial).

3.1.3.6 Plurale tantum

Some nouns only occur in the plural form, for example, *dörer*.F.PL 'door', *fläter*.F.PL 'cream (dairy product)', *fuoreldrer*.M.PL 'parents', *iegur*.F.PL 'property', *lievur*.F.PL 'rests; food rests', *tryskler*.M.PL 'threshold, doorstep', and likewise some place denotations or names take the plural tantum, such as *buder*.F.PL 'summer pastures shielings'[11] and *Åsär*.M.PL.DEF 'Åsär'[12] and *påsker*.F.PL 'Easter'.

[8] Declinable among some speakers.
[9] Declinable among some speakers.
[10] *mụores*.GEN.
[11] *Buð* in the singular means 'shed'.
[12] A village in Övdaln, also called *Åsbynn* in Elfdalian (Swe. *Åsen*).

3.1.3.7 Possession and the possessive suffix

There are different ways to express possession in Elfdalian:

1) Adding the suffix *-es/-s* to the dative form of the possessor and placing the possessed right of the possessor, as in *kallemes aus* (< *kallem*.DAT) 'the man's house', as well as with forms with no visible dative suffixes, as in *Rutes kall* 'Ruth's husband' and *Gustav Wasaes tið* 'Gustav Vasa's time'.

   <u>ienum sturum kallemes</u> probliem
   a problem for a big (or 'tall') man

   <u>dukterames</u> rakke
   the doctor's dog

   An ụogäs <u>gamblunes</u> katte.
   He takes care of the old woman's cat.

   <u>Rutes</u> bil
   Ruth's car

   Ulåv byddjer i <u>mainum fađeres</u> lägeniet.
   Ulåv lives in my father's apartment.

   <u>sagumes</u> wärd
   the world of fairy tales

2) Putting the possessor in the dative form and placing the possessed left of it:

   Ulåv ar taið pennskrineð <u>kullun</u>.
   Ulåv took the girl's pencil case.

   Blästn retteð årriemę upå ryddjem <u>rakkam</u>.
   The wind smoothed down the hair on the dog's back.

   rattjin <u>Lassa</u>
   Lasse's dog

3) Using the preposition *að* (see also Section 5.4) with the possessor phrase in dative and placing the possessed left of it:

   An laggd sig upå fuotą <u>að mumun</u>.
   He lay down at Grandma's feet.

   An, so war sunsun <u>að enner</u> då, liv enn idag.
   He, who was her grandson (lit. 'son of hers') then, still lives today.

4) Using other prepositions with the possessor:

   Raingenweðrę blä'tt nið lånnaðsaiður å åsum.
   The showers wetted the wooden sides of the ridges (lit. 'on the ridges').

   Ulåv såt fråmåni bilem.
   Ulåv sat in the front part of the car.

   Ien fugl twisäð nod i ärad å mig.
   A bird whispered something in my ear (lit. 'in the ear on me').

   Waundjilą eter Matias.
   Gospel of Matthew (lit. 'according to Matthew').

The old genitive suffixes *-s, -er* and so on are still used in many idiomatic structures governed by the preposition *et.*

1) Denoting place: for example, *et avs* 'at sea', *et baker* 'back' (lit. 'to the back'), *et buorðs* 'at the table'.
2) Denoting time: for example, *et juoler* 'at Christmas', *et jågder* 'during or until the weekend', *et morgus* 'till the morning', *et sundags* 'on Sunday'.
3) With different abstract meanings: for example, *et dyömes* 'for example', *et friðs* 'content' (lit. 'at peace'), *et jåper* 'to (someone's) assistance', *et lags* 'in order, pleasing'.

3.2 Noun declension

As mentioned earlier, Elfdalian has three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter). These are divided into strong and weak classes, indefinite and definite forms, two numbers (singular and plural) and three cases (nominative, accusative and dative). The historical genitive case still exists in fixed idioms, and the vocative case is used with some noun categories, as in some proper names and denotations for relatives. Otherwise, possession is expressed and formed in various ways (see Section 3.1.3.7).

Various phonological aspects are relevant for the Elfdalian noun declension, as presented in Chapter 2, examples being pitch accents (Section 2.4.2), apocope (Section 2.5.3), sandhi (Section 2.5.7), palatalisation (Section 2.5.1) and vowel balance (Section 2.4.1). The role of the apocope is central, as some nouns undergo a so-called permanent apocope, which has an impact on their basic forms. Conditional apocope has an impact on the forms of some nouns when they are not sentence-final and when they are in a compound.

Traditional Elfdalian proper names are usually declined (see Section 3.2.2). Some Elfdalian nouns are indeclinable (see Section 3.1.3.4). Yet others have a so-called *plurale tantum* (see Section 3.1.3.6).

Nominalised adjectives and ordinal numbers are also declined like nouns, for instance, *gambeln* 'the old one.M.SG.DEF', *fuostą* 'the first one.F.SG.DEF' and *wildestað* 'the best thing.N.SG.DEF' (see Sections 4.2.3 and 6.2.2).

3.2.1 Outline of the declension classes

For an outline of the Elfdalian root and stem, see Section 13.1.1.

The declension system consists of strong and weak declensions in all three genders. Syllable quantity (that is, short-syllabled or long-syllabled, see Section 2.4.1) may also have an effect on the declension patterns in some categories.

A general outline of the Elfdalian noun declension is as follows.

The strong noun declension contains:

1) Nouns which end in a consonant or consonant cluster, for example, *kall* (m.) 'man', *dal* (m.) 'valley', *saingg* (f.) 'bed' and *liuos* (n.) 'light'.
2) Nouns whose root ends in a stressed vowel, for example, *sniụo* (m.) 'snow', *bru* (f.) 'bridge' and *frie* (n.) 'seed'.

The weak declension contains nouns with a *declensional* vowel suffix (that is, which is not a part of the root):

1) Masculine nouns ending in *-i* (short-syllabled) and *-e* (long-syllabled), for example, *stitji* (m.) 'ladder' and *skugge* (m.) 'shade; shadow'.
2) Feminine nouns ending in *-å* (short-syllabled) and *-a* (long-syllabled), for example, *gåtå* (f.) 'street' and *pära* (f.) 'potato', as well as feminine nouns ending in *-e*, for example, *öve* (f.) 'river'.
3) Neuter nouns ending in *-a*, for example, *oga* (n.) 'eye', or *-e*, for example, *daitje* (m.) 'ditch'.

Further general points relating to Elfdalian noun declension:

1) The dative plural suffix, both definite and indefinite, is *-um* for all genders, for example, *est* (m.) 'horse' → *estum*..DAT.PL. Few classes take only the suffix *-'mm*, as in *skuo* (m.) 'shoe' → *skuo'mm*.PL.DAT.

2) In this section, declension classes are classified as follows: 'M1-St-LS-i' indicates that the noun is **masculine of class 1 (**M1), which is a **strong declension class** (St), is **long-syllabled** (LS) and **has the declension vowel *-i***. Detailed information about every class follows.
3) In this chapter, accent is sometimes shown in brackets after the noun as (´) or (`) when clarification is considered necessary. For an outline of the accent patterns in Elfdalian, see Section 3.4.
4) Some nouns acquire an umlaut in the plural, either in all three cases, or in the nominative and accusative only.

Outline of noun declension classes:

Masculine

Class	**Features**
M1-St-LS	Masculine, strong, long-syllabled
M2-St-SS	Masculine, strong, short-syllabled
M3-Wk-LS-e	Masculine, weak, long-syllabled, ending in *-e*
M4-Wk-SS-i	Masculine, weak, short-syllabled, ending in *-i*

Feminine

Class	**Features**
F1-St	Feminine, strong, long-syllabled
F2-Wk-LS-a	Feminine, weak, long-syllabled, ending in *-a*
F3-Wk-SS-å	Feminine, weak, short-syllabled, ending in *-å*
F4-Wk-LS-e	Feminine, weak, long-syllabled, ending in *-e*
F5-Wk-LS-'V	Feminine, weak, long-syllabled, ending in a stressed vowel

Neuter

Class	**Features**
N1-St-LS	Neuter, strong, long-syllabled
N2-St-SS	Neuter, strong, short-syllabled
N3-Wk-LS-e	Neuter, weak, long-syllabled, ending in *-e*
N4-Wk-LS-a	Neuter, weak, long-syllabled, ending in *-a*
N5-Wk-'V	Neuter, weak, ending in a stressed vowel

For general overviews of the noun declension in the indefinite and definite form, see Tables 3.3 and 3.4.

3.2.1.1 Masculine nouns

Masculine nouns are characterised by the definite suffixes *-n/-'n/-in/-nn* in the singular nominative and accusative, and the definite suffixes *-(e)m/-am/-åm* in the singular dative.[13]

The strong masculine classes end in a consonant or a stressed vowel and take the suffix *-em* or *-'mm* in the dative singular definite, respectively, for example, *kall* 'man' → *kallem*.DAT.SG.DEF, *uo* 'trough' → *uo'mm* DAT.SG.DEF. The weak classes end either in a vowel or, if ending in a permanent apocope, in a consonant, and take the suffix *-am* (long-syllabled nouns) and *-åm* (short-syllabled nouns) in the dative singular definite, for example, *rakke* 'dog'→ *rakkam*.DAT.SG.DEF, *lärer* 'teacher' (a noun with permanent apocope) → *läreram*.SG.DAT.DEF and *eri* 'hare' → *eråm*.SG.DAT.DEF.

3.2.1.1.1 M1-St-LS: Masculine, strong, long-syllabled

Note A1: Main paradigm

Nouns whose C2 is *d, ð, l, r, s* or *t* take the syllabic suffix *-n* as in the definite nominative/accusative singular, as shown in the declension of *kall* 'man' (see Table 3.5). Other nouns declined this way are *ais* 'ice', *bil* 'car', *djäst* 'guest', *est* 'horse', *fuoss* 'stream; waterfall', *fuot* 'foot; leg', *jäld* 'fire', *kweld* 'evening', *puost* 'mail', *stor* 'stick', *stuol* 'chair', *uott* 'glove' and *weðerpuost* 'e-mail'. Disyllabic loanwords ending in *-or* also belong to this group, for example, *dator* 'computer' and, *kurator* 'curator'.

M1-St-LS nouns whose C2 is *-ð* or *-r*, such as *mi̧eð* 'runner (part of skate); rocker (piece on which an object rocks)' are omitted before *-n* in the pronunciation, but preserved in writing, for example, *mieðn* [ˈmí:e̯n̩] (see Section 2.2.1.1 for syllabic *n* and Section 2.5.2.1 for deletion of *r* and *ð*).

Table 3.5 The declension of *kall* 'man' (M1-St-LS)

SG.		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	kall	kalln		NOM	kaller	kallär
	ACC				ACC	kalla	kallą
	DAT	kalle	kallem		DAT	kallum	

[13] The combination *-n/-'n/* renders a syllabic *n*.

Note A2: M1-St-LS nouns whose C2 is a labial consonant
Nouns whose C2 is a labial consonant, that is, *b, f, m, p* or *v*, take *-in* in the nominative/accusative singular definite, as shown in the example of *kripp* 'child' (see Table 3.6).

Table 3.6 The declension of *kripp* 'child' (M1-St-LS)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	kripp	krippin		NOM	kripper	krippär
	ACC				ACC	krippa	krippą
	DAT	krippe	krippem		DAT	krippum	

Other nouns declined this way are *app* 'app, application', *dröm* 'dream', *duom* 'verdict', *kamb* 'comb', *kapp* 'cup', *klubb* 'club', *knaiv* 'knife', *kåv* 'calf', *nebb* 'bill, beak', *stjäf* 'boss', *stjärm* 'screen', *tiuov* 'thief', *tupp* 'top' and *wep* 'puppy'.

Note A3: M1-St-LS nouns whose C2 is velar (except for root vowel + *g*)
M1-St-LS nouns whose C2 is a velar consonant, (except for the combination root vowel + *g* (see Table 3.9)), take the suffix *-in* in the nominative/accusative singular definite and moreover undergo a palatalisation in these forms, as well as in the dative singular, as shown in the points in the following list, and in the example of the declension of *dyörg* 'spider' (see Table 3.7) (see also Section 2.5.1).[14] Moreover:

- Nouns of this type whose C2 is *rg* change *rg* into → *rdj*, for example, *dyörg* (see Table 3.7), and likewise *korg* 'basket', and *warg* 'wolf'.
- Nouns of this type whose C2 is *ngg* additionally change into it into → *ndj*, for example, *swaingg (swaindjin, swaindje, swaindjem)* 'turn; sweep', *gaungg* 'time (the count noun)' and *saungg* 'song'.
- Nouns of this type whose C2 is *gg* change it into → *ddj*, for example, *rygg (ryddjin, ryddje, ryddjem)* 'back', *legg* 'leg', *tagg* 'prickle, thorn' and *wegg* 'wedge'.
- Nouns of this type whose C2 is *(k)k* change it into → *(t)tj*, for example, *lok* 'onion' (see Table 3.8), *duk* 'cloth; tablecloth', *liek* 'play; melody; song', *musik* 'music', *påyk* 'boy', *tuobak* 'tobacco', *fisk (fistjin, fistje,*

[14] Other nouns of this sub-class are provided in the following forms: nominative singular definite, dative singular indefinite, and dative singular definite.

fistjem) 'fish', *tuosk* 'frog', *uork* 'stamina; strength; energy', *werk* 'pain', *lekk (lettjin, lettje, lettjem)* 'link', *bekk* 'brook, rivulet' and *makk* 'worm, caterpillar, grub, insect'.

Table 3.7 The declension of *dyörg* 'spider' (M1-St-LS)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	dyörg	dyördjin		NOM	dyörger	dyörgär
	ACC				ACC	dyörga	dyörgą
	DAT	dyördje	dyördjem		DAT	dyörgum	

Table 3.8 The declension of *lok* 'onion' (M1-St-LS)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	lok	lotjin		NOM	loker	lokär
	ACC				ACC	loka	loką
	DAT	lotje	lotjem		DAT	lokum	

Note A4: M1-St-LS nouns ending in root vowel + *g*
Nouns of this type ending in a vowel + *g* omit their *g* in both pronunciation and spelling in all forms except for the nominative and accusative singular indefinite, as well as the dative plural (see Section 2.5.2.2.1). In the singular, nominative and accusative definite, it acquires an –*'n*, which is pronounced as a syllabic *n* (see Section 2.2.1.1). This declension type includes a few nouns, for example, *weg* 'way, road' (see Table 3.9), *bög* 'rucksack' and *lag* 'law'.[15]

Table 3.9 The declension of *weg* 'way' (M1-St-LS)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	weg	we'n		NOM	weer	weär
	ACC				ACC	wea	weą
	DAT	wee	weem		DAT	wegum	

Note A5: Nouns whose C2 is *n* take no additional suffix in the nominative/accusative, singular definite, for example, *brunn* 'well' → *brunn, byönn* 'bear'→ *byönn*, *kommun* 'municipality' → *kommun, munn* 'mouth' → *munn, stasiuon* 'station' → *stasiuon* and *wenn* 'friend'→ *wenn*.

[15] Note that *dag* 'day' has an irregular declension paradigm (see Table 3.16).

Note A6: M1-St-LS nouns ending in a stressed root vowel
Nouns ending in a stressed root vowel have an identical form in the nominative/accusative/dative, singular indefinite, take the suffix *-'nn* (thus resulting in an overlong syllable) in the nominative/accusative, singular definite and *-'mm* in the dative singular definite, (thus resulting likewise in an overlong syllable). Moreover, they acquire no *-e* in the dative singular. This class is further divided into two sub-classes:

1) M1-St-LS nouns ending in a stressed root vowel *without n* epenthesis, such as *uo* 'sink' → *uoer*.NOM.PL.INDEF (see Table 3.10), and likewise *sniụo* 'snow' and *så* 'tub' (see also Section 2.5.4.3).
2) M1-St-LS nouns ending in a stressed root vowel *with n* epenthesis, namely in the nominative plural as well as in the accusative plural, definite and indefinite forms, such as *skuo* 'shoe' → *skuoner*. NOM.PL.INDEF (see Table 3.11), and likewise *ljå* 'scythe' (see also Section 2.5.4.3). Exceptions in this class are the nouns *stie* 'stone' and *tie* 'knitting needle', which end in a vowel in the basic form, but restore an *-n* from earlier phases of the language in all other forms. Hence, they have the forms *stien* and *tien* in the nominative/accusative, singular definite and *stiener* and *tiener* in the nominative plural indefinite, respectively.

Table 3.10 The declension of *uo* 'sink' (M1-St-LS)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	uo	uo'nn		NOM	uoer	uoär
	ACC				ACC	uoa	uoa
	DAT		uo'mm		DAT	uoum	

Table 3.11 The declension of *skuo* 'shoe' (M1-St-LS)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	skuo	skuo'nn		NOM	skuoner	skuonär
	ACC				ACC	skuo	skuoną
	DA'		skuo'mm		D'T	skuo'mm	

Note A7: Disyllabic M1-St-LS nouns whose C2 is *l* or *r*
Disyllabic nouns belonging to this category whose C2 is *l* or *r* follow different declension patterns:

1) A large group of disyllabic M1-St-LS nouns whose C2 is *l* or *r* undergo a syncope in the plural, for example, *fugel* 'bird' → *fugler*.PL, and

likewise in the dative singular definite, the accusative plural definite and the dative plural definite (see Table 3.12).

The following nouns are declined likewise: *aksul* 'axle',[16] *biðul* 'wooer-proxy (a person appointed to propose marriage on behalf of another person)', *dymbel* 'dowel', *gaffel* (`) 'fork', *nytjyl* (`)[17] 'key', *tembel* (`) 'lamb', *waungen* (´-) 'car; wagon' and *witter* (´) 'winter'. Vowel harmony might also apply here, as in *åmår* 'hammer' → *ambrem* (see Section 2.5.5).

Table 3.12 The declension of *fugel* 'bird' (M1-St-LS)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	fugel (´)	fugeln (`)		NOM	fugler	fuglär
	ACC				ACC	fugel (`)	fuglą
	DAT	fugel (`)	fuglem (`)		DAT	fuglum	

2) A small group of disyllabic M1-St-LS nouns whose C2 is *l* or *r* do not undergo a syncope in their declension paradigm, as opposed to the noun type showed in 1) above. Moreover, they lack an *-e* in the dative singular. This group includes some simplex native disyllabic nouns with a short + long syllable, such as *eril* 'fireplace' (see declension in Table 3.13), and likewise *figur* 'figure', *kupär* 'copper', *putil* 'bottle' and *työður* 'capercaillie', and likewise a few nouns with a short + short syllable, such as *byryl* 'a young whipper-snapper'. As such, the suffixes *-e* in the nominative singular and *-a* in the accusative plural undergo a permanent apocope. This group likewise comprises compounds, for example, *aiskub* 'ice cube', *fuokuop* 'crowd; group of people', *kafikapp* 'cup of coffee' and *skaulkripp* 'school child'.

Masculine nouns whose basic form undergoes a permanent apocope, such as *kavel* (<**kavle*) 'rolling pin', as well as *lärer* (<**lärere*) 'teacher', are classified as weak. For their declensions, see Tables 3.18 and 3.20, respectively.

[16] *Aksul* has the same form in the dative singular and *aksel* in the accusative plural.
[17] *Nytjyl* has the form *nykkel* in the dative singular and the accusative plural.

Table 3.13 The declension of *eril* 'fireplace' (M1-St-LS)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	eril	eriln		NOM	eriler	erilär
	ACC				ACC	eril	erilą
	DAT		erilem		DAT	erilum	

For apocopated M1-St nouns with a long first syllable, see M3-Wk-LS-e, an example being *lärer.*

Note A8: *b* epenthesis
Disyllabic nouns ending in *-mil* or *-mår* omit their unstressed vowel and replace it with a *b* in all forms except for singular nominative and accusative singular, as shown in Table 3.14 (see also Section 2.5.4.2).

Another noun declined likewise is *åmår* 'hammer' (*amber*.DAT.SG.INDEF). For the declension of *såmår* 'summer', see note A9.

Table 3.14 The declension of *imil* 'sky; heaven' (M1-St-LS)

SG		INDEF	DEF.	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	imil (`-)	iminl		NOM	imbler	imblär
	ACC				ACC	imbel	imblą
	DAT		imblem		DAT	imblum	

Note A9: Irregular M1-St-LS noun declension
Some M1-St-LS nouns have an irregular declension, such as *morgun* 'morning' and *dag* 'day' (see Tables 3.15 and 3.16). *Såmår* 'summer' changes its root vowel into u and acquires a *b* epenthesis in all forms but the nominative and accusative singular, that is, *sumber*.DAT.SG.INDEF/ACC.PL.INDEF, *sumbrer*.NOM.PL.DEF, etc.

Table 3.15 The declension of *morgun* 'morning' (M1-St-LS, irregular)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	morgun	morgun		NOM	me'nner	me'nnär
	ACC				ACC	me'nna	me'nną
	DAT	me'nne	me'nnem		DAT	me'nnum	

Dag 'day' follows the long-syllabled strong masculine declension in all forms (as *weg* 'way') except for the accusative (short-syllabled *dågå*.INDEF and *dågą*.DEF, respectively, rather than the expected long-syllabled **daga* and **dagą*, respectively) (see Table 3.16).

Table 3.16 The declension of *dag* 'day' (M1-St-LS, irregular)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	dag	da'n		NOM	daer	daär
	ACC				ACC	dågå	dågą
	DAT	dae	daem		DAT	dagum	

The word *mann* 'man; member of working staff' takes the umlaut *a* > *e* in the nominative plural, that is, *menner*.INDEF and *mennär*.DEF. However, an indeclinable form is more common here, for example, *Dier war fem mann* 'They were five men'.

The word *fader* 'father, dad' takes the umlaut *a* > *ä* in all plural forms, e.g. *färdrer*.NOM.INDEF, *färdrär*.NOM.DEF, *färder*.ACC.INDEF, *färdrą*.ACC.DEF, and *färdrum*.DAT. Likewise, *bruoder* takes the umlaut *uo* > *yö* in all plural forms, that is, *bryödrer*.NOM.DEF, etc.

The nouns *by* 'village' and *sju* 'lake' have partially irregular definite forms *-nn* in the singular nominative and accusative definite, that is, → *bynn, sjunn*, and *-mm* in the dative singular definite, that is → *bymm, sjumm*, respectively, and *byum* and *sjuum* in the dative plural.

3.2.1.1.2 M2-St-SS: Masculine, strong, short-syllabled

Strong, short-syllabled masculine nouns are often easy to discern, as their declension suffix contains *i* in the dative singular, whereas their long-syllabled equivalents contain *e*.

The root vowel of short-syllabled nouns is automatically prolonged when they are monosyllabic (i.e. in the nominative and accusative singular). For example, the noun *dal* 'valley' has *dal*.NOM/ACC.SG.INDEF /dɑ́:l/, and *daln*.NOM/ACC.SG.DEF /dɑ́:lṇ/, but retains its original short vowel in disyllabic forms, such as in *dali*.DAT.SG.INDEF, /dɑ̀ɽi/, and *dalim*.DAT.SG.INDEF /dɑ̀ɽim/ (see declension in Table 3.17).[18] Other nouns of this type are *mat* '(prepared) food', *lot* 'field', *sun* 'son' and *Övdaln* 'Övdaln'.

The choice between the definite suffix *-n* or *-in* in the nominative and accusative singular follows the same rules as for M1-St-LS, that is, it depends on C2, as demonstrated in Section 3.2.1.1.1.

Hence, most nouns take the suffix *-n*,[19] but nouns with labial or palatalised C2 take the suffix *-in*, for example, *kwiđ* 'belly'→ *kwiđn*.DEF,

[18] See also note 13 in Chapter 2.

[19] The word formation suffix *-nađ* [nɑːð], as in *marknađ* 'market', *månađ* 'month' and *stjilnađ* 'difference', has a long vowel. In the definite singular, nominative and singular, the forms

smið 'smith' → *smiðn*.DEF, *wið* 'wood' → *wiðn*.DEF, *buokstav* 'letter (in the alphabet)' → *buokstavin*.DEF, *röv* 'fox' → *rövin*.DEF, and *stav* 'stick, rod, stave' → *stavin*.DEF.

Table 3.17 The declension of *dal* 'valley' (M2-St-SS)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	dal	daln		NOM	dalir	dalir
	ACC				ACC	dali	dalı
	DAT	dali	dalim		DAT	dalum	

Note A10: Some disyllabic masculine nouns ending in *-er* or *-el* with permanent apocope, as well as apocopated compounds, take no suffix in the dative singular indefinite and the suffix *-am* in the dative singular definite. Likewise, they drop their *e* in the second syllable before suffixes containing *r* and *m*, for example, *kavel* (see declension in Table 3.18), as well as *ager* 'oats' and *nagel* 'nail'.[20]

Table 3.18 The declension of *kavel* 'rolling-pin' (M3-St-SS)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	kavel	kaveln		NOM	kavler	kavlär
	ACC				ACC	kavel	kavlą
	DAT	kavel	kavlam		DAT	kavlum	

3.2.1.1.3 M3-Wk-LS-e: Masculine, weak, long-syllabled, ending in -e

Note A11: Weak, long-syllabled masculines end in *-e* in the basic form, which changes into *-a* in the accusative and dative singular, as well as plural accusative indefinite, such as *brinde* 'elk, moose' → *brinda*.SG.ACC/DAT. SG.INDEF/ACC.PL.INDEF. In the nominative singular definite form, the final *-e* is omitted as if it were a strong masculine of type M1-St-LS like *kall* 'man' (see Table 3.5). For other nouns in this category, see Note A1.

are *marknaðn*, *månaðn* and *stjilnaðn*, respectively, pronounced with a syllabic [n] and elision of [ð].

[20] The difference between the declension of masculine nouns such as *fugel* 'bird' and others such as *kavel* 'rolling pin' lies in their historical background: whereas *fugel* originates from *fugl* and later acquired a svarabhakti vowel, *kavel* originates from *kavle* and underwent an apocope.

Table 3.19 The declension of *brinde* 'elk, moose' (M3-Wk-LS-e)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	brinde	brindn		NOM	brinder	brindär
	ACC	brinda	brindan		ACC	brinda	brindą
	DAT		brindam		DAT	brindum	

Note A12: Singular nominative definite of M3-Wk-LS-e
The definite suffix for nominative singular for nouns of this class is *-n* or *-in*, depending on the consonant before the final vowel and according to the same rules presented for the strong masculine nouns (M1-St-LS), as demonstrated in Section 3.2.1.1.1. In other words, from the singular nominative definite form *brindn*, it is impossible to predict whether the basic form of the word is **brind* (strong) or *brinde* (weak), as is the case in Table 3.19, as the vowel *-e* is dropped in this form.

Other nouns declined like *brinde* are *ende* 'end; extremity' → *endn*.DEF, *ienne* 'brain' → *ienn*.NOM.SG.DEF, *klåðe* 'itching' → *klåðn*, *skolle* 'head' → *skolln*.DEF, *ärre* 'sir; the Lord' → ärrn.DEF, *skaule* 'school' → *skauln*.DEF and *wile* 'will (wanting something); energy, stamina' → *wiln*.NOM.SG.DEF.

When C2 is labial, the suffix *-in* is added, as in *bljåmme* 'flower', *gubbe* 'old man; husband' → *gubbin*.DEF, *kabbe* 'stock, block' → *kabbin*.DEF, *kuppe* 'bag, carrier bag' → *kuppin*.DEF, *taime* 'hour' → *taimin*.DEF and *tuppe* 'cock, rooster' → *tuppin*.DEF. When C2 is velar (with the exception of root vowel + g), a palatalisation takes place and the suffix *-in* is added, for example, *bokke* 'hill' → *bottjin*.DEF, *rakke* 'dog', → rattjin.DEF, *skugge* 'shade; shadow' → *skuddjin*.DEF and *slungge* 'male cousin' *slundjin*.DEF.

Note A13: Apocopated M3-Wk-LS-e nouns
Nouns of this type with permanent apocope are declined as shown in Table 3.19 with the exception that they lack the final vowel in the singular forms, for example, *byrånend*.SG.INDEF 'beginning' → *byrånendam*.DAT.SG.DEF, *sturuks* (compound) 'big bull' → *sturuksan*.ACC.SG.DEF and *tolltull*.SG.INDEF (compound) 'the top of a pine' → *tolltulla*.ACC.PL.INDEF.

Note A14: Historical *-ere/-äre*
Many nouns ending in *-er* (long-syllabled) and *-är* (short-syllabled) belong to this class, as they historically had the suffix *-e* after the C2. This type of noun includes many nouns denoting professions. They take the suffix *-am* in the singular dative definite and Ø in the accusative plural definite, such

as *lärer* 'teacher' (see declension in Table 3.20), as well as *bager* 'baker', *danser* 'dancer', *dukter* 'doctor', *fistjer* 'fisherman', *flotär* 'floater', *fefatter* 'author', *mjester* 'master', *skanner* 'scanner', *skriever* 'printer' and *tjäller* 'cellar'.

Table 3.20 The declension of *lärer* 'teacher' (M3-Wk-LS-e)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	lärer	lärern[21]		NOM	lärerer	lärerär
	ACC				ACC	lärer	lärerą
	DAT		läreram		DAT	lärerum	

Note A15: Irregular M3-Wk-LS-e
The word *buonde* 'farmer' takes the umlaut in the plural and, moreover, an extra *r* before the suffix, that is, *byöndrer*.NOM.INDEF, *byönder*.ACC.INDEF, *byöndrum*.DAT, etc.

3.2.1.1.4 M4-Wk-SS-i: Masculine, weak, short-syllabled, ending in -i
Nouns belonging to this class are short-syllabled and hence end with an *-i* in the basic form, such as *eri* 'hare' (see Table 3.21), as well as *ali* 'tail', *drupi* 'drop', *floti* 'raft', *iti* 'heat', *kuvi* 'chamber, small room', *muosi* 'moss', *nevi* 'hand', *roti* 'poor thing; wretch', *skaði* 'damage; shame, pity', *skari* 'crust', *smali* 'small cattle', *työli* 'frost in the ground' and *uoni* 'habit'.

Table 3.21 The declension of *eri* 'hare' (M4-Wk-SS-i)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	eri	erin		NOM	erir	erir
	ACC	erå	erån		ACC	erå	erą
	DAT		eråm		DAT	erum	

Note A16: Vowel harmony
Regular vowel harmony applies. Hence, forms ending in *-å* cause a change of a radical *a* into *å*, for example, *spaði* 'spade' → *spåðå*.ACC.SG.INDEF/ACC.PL.INDEF, and so on (see Section 2.5.5).

Note A17: Depalatalisation
Nouns ending in *-tji* in the basic form become depalatalised into *-k* when followed by *å, ą* or *u*, for example, *atji* 'hook' → *åkå*.ACC.SG.INDEF,

[21] The variant *läreran* is also possible in the nominative definite singular form.

as well as *åką̊*.ACC.PL.INDEF and *akum*.DAT.PL.DEF/INDEF. The nouns *strutji* 'bow' and *stitji* 'ladder' decline likewise (see Section 2.5.1).

Note A18: Lack of apocope, also in compounds
Short-syllabled words are normally not subject to apocope. This applies when the short-syllabled noun is the latter element in a compound, for example, *watudrupi* 'water drop' and *watudrupå*.ACC.SG.INDEF/ACC.PL.INDEF.

3.2.1.2 Feminine nouns

Feminine nouns are divided into strong and weak classes. A large part of the feminine nouns belongs to one of the following categories. Long-syllabled strong feminine nouns: these end in a consonant in the basic form and acquire the suffix *-ę* in the equivalent definite form, as in *nål* 'needle' → *nålę*.DEF. In the plural, they acquire the suffix *-er*, i.e. → *nåler*.PL.INDEF. The number of short-syllabled strong feminine nouns is rather small; weak feminine nouns: these end in a vowel and are further divided into long-syllabled and short-syllabled nouns. Long-syllabled nouns end in *-a* in the basic form and acquire a nasalisation in the equivalent definite form, as in *kulla* 'girl' → *kullą*.DEF. Short-syllabled nouns end in *-å* in the basic form and acquire a nasalisation in the equivalent definite form, as in *stugå* 'cottage' → *stugą̊*.DEF. In other forms than the nominative singular, weak feminine nouns aquire the suffix *-u*, as in *kulla* 'girl' → *kullur*.PL. For more about feminine nouns, see further in this section.

3.2.1.2.1 F1-St: Feminine, strong

This class includes strong feminine nouns ending in a consonant. The class is divided into three sub-classes: a) long-syllabled, taking *-er* in the nominative plural indefinite and the grave accent in the plural; b) short-syllabled, taking *-är* in the nominative plural indefinite and the grave accent in the plural; c) short-syllabled, taking *-är* in the nominative plural indefinite and the acute accent in the plural. When umlaut is possible, members of the third sub-type take the umlaut in the plural nominative and accusative, and sometimes also in the dative.

Note B1: F1-St(a): Grave accent in the plural, *-er* and *-är* in the plural.
Nouns belonging to this sub-class are long-syllabled and decline like *nål* 'needle' (see declension in Table 3.22). Other feminine nouns inflecting this way are *andelsbuð* 'shop', *byörk* 'birch', *buð* 'shed', *förieningg* 'association', *gerd* 'knitwork; needlework; activity; action; work', *kelingg* '(married) woman', *mjok* 'milk', *saingg* 'bed', *släkt* 'family; kin', *skål* 'bowl', *mu̧or*

'dense, humid spruce forest', *ridjiringg* 'government', *strand* 'beach', *suol* 'sun', *tiningg* 'newspaper', *wegg* 'wall' and *vår* 'spring (season)'. The word *buðer* 'summer pasture shielings' is always in the plural.

Table 3.22 The declension of *nåḷ* 'needle' (F1-St(a))

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	nåḷ	nåḷę (´-)		NOM	nåḷer (`-)	nåḷär (`-)
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT		nåḷn (´-)		DAT	nåḷum (`-)	

Notes:

- The dative singular definite suffixes *-n, -in* or *-'n*. Phonological changes due to C2 follow an identical pattern to that of the singular nominative definite of M1-St-LS, for example, *nåḷ* → *nåḷn, klov* → *klovin, mjok* → *mjotjin, saingg* → *saindjin* (see also Section 2.5.1).
- Nouns ending in a vowel + *n* acquire an overlong root syllable in the singular dative definite, for example, *plan* 'plan; plane' → *pla'nn*.
- Nouns whose C2 is *nn* retain their form in the singular dative definite, for example, *kwenn* 'mill' → *kwenn.*
- Disyllabic nouns with *e* in the second syllable, for example, *fjäder* 'feather' and *bibel* 'Bible', take the acute accent, that is, /fjǽ:der/ [fjǽ:ðe]; /bí:bel/ [bi:beɽ], respectively.

Note B2: F1-St(b): Grave accent in the plural, *-är* in the plural
A few nouns belong to this sub-class. They are short-syllabled, appear like nouns belonging to F1-St-LS-a, albeit with the nominative and accusative plural definite suffix *-är*, as in *fyöl* 'furrow' (see declension in Table 3.23). Other nouns declined this way are *dörär* 'door; doors (*plurale tantum*)' and *grån* 'spruce' (*grå'nn.*D.SG.DEF).

Table 3.23 The declension of *fyöl* 'furrow' (F1-St(b))

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	fyöl	fyölę		NOM	fyölär	
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT		fyöln		DAT	fyölum	

Some of the nouns belonging to this class undergo vowel harmony of their root vowel (see Section 2.5.5), for example, *rað* 'row' → *räðär.*NOM.PL.DEF/INDEF (see Table 3.24), as well as *grav* 'grave' → *grävär.*NOM.PL.DEF/INDEF.

Table 3.24 The declension of *rað* 'row' (F1-St(b), umlaut in the nominative and accusative plural)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	rað	rađę		NOM	räðär	
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT		rađn		DAT	rađum	

Note B3: F1-St(c): Acute accent in the plural, umlaut in the plural, when possible

Relatively few nouns belong to this sub-class. They appear like nouns belonging F1-St(a) – they usually consist of one syllable and end in a consonant. Moreover, a big part of the declension pattern is similar to that of F1-St(a). However, this sub-class shows three differences when compared with F1-St(a): 1) type 1: the root vowel undergoes an umlaut in the nominative and accusative plural whenever possible (see Section 2.5.6); 2) type 2: the umlauted nouns take the acute accent (i.e. in the nominative, accusative plural) and non-umlauted forms take the grave accent; 3) type 3: nouns with umlaut in the dative plural also take the acute accent in this form.

In Table 3.25, the declension of the umlaut noun *maus* 'mouse' (type 1, that is, lacking umlaut in the dative plural) is provided. Other nouns declined likewise are *and* 'duck' → *ender*.NOM/ACC.PL.INDEF, *andum*.DAT.PL, *tann* 'tooth' → *tenner*.NOM/ACC.PL.INDEF, *tannum*.DAT.PL.

Table 3.25 The declension of *maus* 'mouse' (F1-St(c), type 1)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	maus	mausę		NOM	måyser (´)	måysär (´)
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT		mausn		DAT	mausum (`)	

In Table 3.26, the declension of the noun *buok* 'book' (type 2) is provided. It has an umlaut in the whole plural paradigm. Other feminine nouns declined this way are: *bruok* '(a pair of) trousers' → *bryöker* '(several pairs of) trousers', *bryökum*.DAT.PL; *gåş* 'goose' → *gęser*.NOM/ACC.PL,[22] *gęsum*.DAT.PL; *nåţ* 'night' → *nęter*.NOM/ACC.PL, *nętum*.DAT.PL; *rand* 'stripe; edge' → *render*.NOM/ACC.PL, *rendum*.DAT.PL; and *ruot* 'root' → *ryöter*.PL, *ryötum*.DAT.PL.

[22] In the meaning 'sandwich', this word has the non-umlaut form *gåser*.

Table 3.26 The declension of *buok* 'book' (F1-St(c), type 2)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	buok	buotję		NOM	byöker (′)	byökär (′)
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT		buotjin		DAT	byökum (′)	

Type 3 contains nouns whose root vowel cannot take the umlaut in the plural, for example, *djiet* 'goat' (see Table 3.27). Other nouns declined this way are *ert* 'pea' and *sild* 'herring'.

Table 3.27 The declension of *djiet* 'goat' (F1-St(c), type 3)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	djiet	djietę		NOM	djieter (′-)	djietär (′-)
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT		djietn		DAT	djietum (`-)	

3.2.1.2.2 F2-Wk-LS-a: Feminine, weak, long-syllabled, ending in -a

This class consists of weak, long-syllabled disyllabic feminine nouns with a root vowel + the suffix *-a*. In all forms besides nominative singular, the final *a* is replaced by *u* or *ų*, as in *kulla* 'girl; daughter; unmarried woman' (see Table 3.28). The definite suffix of the singular is marked by the nasalisation of *-a*. In other cases than the nominative singular, *-u* replaces the suffix *-a*. Other feminine nouns declined this way are *apa* 'monkey', *bradda* 'early breakfast', *bilka* 'aunt by marriage', *dumba* 'fog', *etta* 'cap', *muna* 'mother', *pära* 'potato', *sjäppa* 'female dog', *slungga* 'female cousin', *stienna* 'star', *stjuorta* 'shirt', *stjyöra* 'while; period of time', *takka* 'ewe', *tjyörtja* 'church', *tråya* 'sweater' and *tytta* 'aunt'.

Note B4: Apocopated F2-Wk-LS nouns

Nouns of this type with a permanent apocope have the same form as in Table 3.28 except in the singular indefinite forms, where they lack the final vowel, for example, *istor* 'story; history' → *istorą*.DEF, *gęslkull*.SG.INDEF (compound) '(female) shepherd' → *gęslkullą*, *kwegel* 'cone' → *kweglą*.DEF and *pärkå'ss* (compound) 'mashed potatoes' → *pärkå'ssą*.DEF.

Table 3.28 The declension of *kulla* 'girl; daughter; unmarried woman' (F2-Wk-LS-a)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	kulla	kullą		NOM	kullur	
	ACC	kullu	kullų		ACC		
	DAT		kullun		DAT	kullum	

F3-Wk-SS-å: Feminine, weak, short-syllabled, ending in -å

This class consists of weak, short-syllabled disyllabic feminine nouns ending in *-å*. In all forms besides the nominative singular, the final *å* is replaced by *u* or *ų*, as in *stugå* 'cottage' (see Table 3.29), as well as *flugå* 'fly', *rekå* 'shovel' and *wikå* 'week'. Through vowel harmony, the root vowel *a* changes into *å* if the suffix consists of *-å* (see Section 2.5.5), for example, **kakå* in older phases is nowadays → *kåkå*.NOM.SG.INDEF 'cake' and *kåką̊*.NOM.SG.INDEF. When the suffix is *-u*, the root vowel is preserved, for example, *kaku*.NOM.SG.INDEF and *kakur*.NOM/ACC.SG.DEF/INDEF. Hence, a word like **kakå* is not possible in Elfdalian.

Other nouns declined this way are *gråvå* 'pickaxe', *gåtå* 'street', *låðå* 'barn' and *slågå* 'crank, flail'.

Table 3.29 The declension of *stugå* 'cottage' (F3-Wk-SS-å)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	stugå	stugą		NOM	stugur	
	ACC	stugu	stugų		ACC		
	DAT		stugun		DAT	stugum	

3.2.1.2.3 F4-Wk-LS-e: Feminine, weak, long-syllabled, ending in -e

This class consists of few disyllabic F-Wk nouns ending in *-e*. The plural declension is identical with F1-St-LS. The definite article in the singular is marked by the nasalisation of *-e*. In the dative singular definite form, the *-e* is dropped and the possible phonological changes apply, as in the dative singular definite form of F1-St-LS, for example, *börde* 'burden' (see Table 3.30), as well as in *erde* 'shoulder', *ille* 'shelf', *męre* 'ant', *måyre* 'bog; bogland', *ökse* 'axe' and *öve* 'river'.

Table 3.30 The declension of *börde* 'burden' (F3-Wk-SS-e)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	börde (`-)	bördę		NOM	börder	bördär
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT		bördn		DAT	bördum	

Note B5: Three-syllable apocope
Some nouns from this class are trisyllabic and hence undergo a permanent apocope in the nominative and dative definite forms, for example, *ryörels* 'movement', *styrels* 'board' (see Section 2.5.3.1.2).

Note B6: *-'n/-in* in the dative singular
Nouns from this class with a labial C2 take the dative suffix *-in* rather than *-n*, for example, *öve* 'river' (*övin* in the dative singular definite) in the dative singular indefinite. (see Section 2.2.1.1).

3.2.1.2.4 F5-Wk-LS-'V: Feminine, weak, long-syllabled, ending in a stressed vowel

Nouns belonging to this class are monosyllabic and end in a stressed vowel. The definite form in the singular nominative consists of *-nę* with an *n* epenthesis (see also Section 2.5.4.3). There are two sub-classes of this class: 1) one containing *n* epenthesis in the plural nominative and accusative, and 2) one lacking *n* epenthesis in the plural nominative and accusative.

F5-Wk-LS-'V-a: Members of this sub-class contain *n* epenthesis in the singular nominative and accusative, as in *bru* 'bridge' (see Table 3.31). Moreover, they take the grave accent in the plural. The following nouns are declined likewise: *fru* 'lady', *rå* 'corner; nook', *å* 'small river; creek' and *ä* 'island' (accusative singular definite form *enę*, dative singular definite *e'nn* owing to phonological and/or orthographic rules (see Section 2.1) and plural nominative and accusative *äer* or *ener*).

Table 3.31 The declension of *bru* 'bridge' (F5-Wk-LS-'V)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	bru	brunę		NOM	bruer	bruär
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT		bru'nn		DAT	bruum	

F5-Wk-LS-'V(b): This sub-class contains few members, which additionally have an *n* epenthesis in the plural and take the acute accent in the plural. Moreover, they undergo an umlaut in the plural nominative and accusative, as in *kluo* 'claw' (see Table 3.32), as well as in *tå* 'toe' → *tånę*. NOM.SG.DEF, *töner* (′).NOM/ACC.PL.DEF/INDEF.

Table 3.32 The declension of *kluo* 'claw' (F5-Wk-LS-'V, umlaut in the plural and *n* epenthesis in the nominative and accusative plural)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	kluo	kluonę		NOM	klyöner (′)	klyönär (′)
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT		kluo'nn		DAT	klyö'mm	

Note B7: Irregular feminines
The noun *tjyr* 'cow' has a preserved a historical *-r* suffix. For its declension, see Table 3.33.

Table 3.33 The declension of *tjyr* 'cow' (irregular)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	tjyr	tjyrę		NOM	tjyner (′-)	tjynär (′-)
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT		tjyrn		DAT	tjy'mm	

The noun *syster* 'sister' is declined as shown in Table 3.34.

Table 3.34 The declension of *syster* 'sister' (irregular)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	syster	–[23]		NOM	systrer (-′)	systrär (-′)
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT				DAT	systrum	

The noun *duotter* 'daughter' is declined as follows: *duotter*.SG.INDEF in singular indefinite, *duottrę*.NOM/ACC.SG.DEF, *dyöttrer* (′-).NOM./ACC.PL.INDEF, *dyöttrar* (′-).NOM./ACC.PL.DEF, *dyöttrum*.DAT.PL.

3.2.1.3 Neuter nouns

Like the masculine and feminine nouns, neuter nouns are divided into strong and weak classes. A large part of the neuter nouns belong to one of the following categories. Strong neuter nouns: these end in a consonant in the basic form, have an identical form also in the accusative singular, nominative plural and accusative plural. The definite suffix in the nominative and accusative singular is *-eð*, and in the nominative and accusative plural it is *-ę*, for example, *buord* 'table.NOM/ACC.SG/

[23] No definite forms of the word *syster* in the singular are attested.

PL.INDEF', *buordeð*.NOM/ACC.SG.DEF, *buordę*.NOM/ACC.PL.DEF. Strong neuter nouns are further divided into long-syllabled and short-syllabled. They differ from each other merely in the dative singular forms, that is, the long-syllabled nouns acquire the suffix *-e* in the dative singular indefinite and *-ę* in the dative singular definite, whereas the short-syllabled nouns acquire the suffix *-i* in the dative singular indefinite and *-į* in the dative singular definite, for example: *buorde*.DAT.SG.INDEF, *buordę*.DAT.SG.DEF and *neti*.DAT.SG.INDEF, *netį*.DAT.SG.INDEF, respectively. Many of the weak neuter nouns end in *-a* and acquire the plural suffix *-ų*, as in *oga*.SG > *ogų*.PL.

3.2.1.3.1 N1-St-LS: Neuter, strong, long-syllabled

This class consists of strong, long-syllabled neuter nouns ending in a consonant, such as *buord* 'table' (see declension in Table 3.35), as well as *aus* 'house', *baur* 'storehouse', *foll* 'fall; case', *fil* 'mistake', *fjåṣ* 'barn', *glam* 'speech; language', *guov* 'floor', *laiv* 'life', *liuos* 'light', *mil* 'mile (Swedish mile, the equivalent of 10 kilometres)', *namn* 'name', *ovuð* 'head' (*ovde*.DAT.INDEF, *ovdę*.DAT.DEF; for pronunciation see Section 2.2.2), *uord* 'word' and *år* 'year; hair'.

Table 3.35 The declension of *buord* 'table' (N1-St-LS)

SG.		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	buord	buordeð		NOM	buord	buordę (-´)
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT	buorde	buordę		DAT	buordum	

Note C1: Palatalisation

N1-St-LS nouns whose C2 is velar (i.e. *gg, k* or *ngg*), with the exception of root vowel + g, undergo palatalisation in the definite forms of the nominative and accusative (see Section 2.5.1), for example, *egg* 'egg' → *eddjeð*.NOM/ACC.SG.DEF, *eddję*.NOM/ACC.SG.INDEF. Other nouns declined likewise are *akk* 'hack', *dekk* 'tire', *fuok* 'person; people' → *fuotjeð*.NOM/ACC.DEF, *lingg* 'berry sprigs' → *lindjeð*.NOM/ACC.DEF, *ogg* 'cut, notch; slash; stab', *språk* 'language' and *strik* 'line; stroke'.

Note C2: root vowel + *g*

N1-St-LS nouns containing a *g* right after the root vowel drop the *g* when followed by *e* or *ę* in the declension, as in *tug* 'train' (see Table 3.36), as well as in *buolag* 'company; corporation', *lag* 'team; crew, company; order; mood', *mig* 'urine', *slag* 'hit', *tag* 'while; grasp', and *tyg* 'material; cloth; fabric'.

Table 3.36 The declension of *tug* 'train' (N1-St-LS)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	tug	tueð		NOM	tug	tuę (-´)
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT	tue	tuę		DAT	tugum	

Note C3: root vowel + *ð*
N1-St-LS nouns containing a *ð* right after the root vowel take Ø suffix in the nominative and accusative singular definite, for example, *blað* 'leaf' → *blað*.NOM/ACC.SG/PL.DEF, *bluoð* 'blood', *bröð* (older form: *broð*) 'bread', and *suoð* 'broth; soup'.

Note C4: Polysyllabic nouns ending in + *-sn, -tn, -el, -en, -er*
Polysyllabic N1-St-LS nouns ending in + *-sn, -tn, -el, -en* or *-er* and containing either a long or short main syllable take the acute accent in the nominative and accusative, and the grave accent in the dative case. In all forms except for the nominative singular, a possible *e* is omitted before the last consonant (see Section 2.5.4.1), as in *fingger* 'finger' (see Table 3.37). Other nouns declined this way are *kapittel* 'chapter', *styvel* 'boot', *tekken* 'sign; air; wind' and *wattn* 'water' (*wattn* (`) in the singular indefinite), with a long main syllable, and *agel* 'hail', *sigel* 'sail' and *weðer* 'weather', with a short main syllable.

Table 3.37 The declension of *fingger* 'finger' (N1-St-LS)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	fingger (´-)	finggreð (´-)		NOM	fingger (´-)	finggrę (´-)
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT	fingger (`-)	finggrę (`-)		DAT	finggrum (`-)	

Note C5: Compounds with *-aus*
Compounds ending in *-aus* presume an unapocopated form *-ausa*. Hence, for example, *skalaus* 'toilet' is declined as *skalausað* (and not **skalauseð*) in the definite form.

3.2.1.3.2 N2-St-SS: Neuter, strong, short-syllabled
This class consists of strong, short-syllabled, monosyllabic neuter nouns, as in *net* 'net' (see Table 3.38), as well as *av* 'sea', *ber* 'berry', *buoð* 'command; messenger; message', *drit* 'dirt', *fat* 'barrel; plate', *glas* 'glass; window', *myöl* 'flour', *nęs* 'neck of land; spit', *nev* 'nose', *par* 'pair; couple', *smyör* 'butter', *sker* 'rock; rocky islet; mountain', *skuot* 'shot', *tak* 'roof', *tal*

'decade (e.g. *upå 50-talị* 'in the '50s'); speech', *uol* 'hole', *win* 'wine' and *wit* 'wit; sense'.

Table 3.38 The declension of *net* 'net' (N2-St-SS)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	net	neteð		NOM	net	netę
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT	neti	netị		DAT	netum	

3.2.1.3.3 N3-Wk-LS-e: Neuter, weak, long-syllabled, ending in -e

This class consists of disyllabic, weak, long-syllabled neuter nouns ending in *-e*, as in *bräðe* 'board' (see Table 3.39), as well as *daitje* 'ditch', *dyöme* 'example', *enne* 'forehead', *kråy'sse* 'face', *myöte* 'meeting', *werde* 'value' and *öðe* 'fate, destiny'.

Table 3.39 The declension of *bräðe* 'board' (N3-Wk-LS-e)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	bräðe	bräðeð		NOM	bräðe	bräðę
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT		bräðę		DAT	bräðum	

3.2.1.3.4 N4-Wk-LS-a: Neuter, weak, long-syllabled, ending in -a

Nouns belonging to this class are disyllabic ending in *-a*. In the plural definite form nominative and accusative, the *-a* is replaced by an *-ụ*, as in *ära* 'ear' (see Table 3.40), as well as *drikka* 'drink; light drink', *flota* 'float', *järta* 'heart', *komma* 'comma', *miða* 'waste', *njästa* 'ball of yarn', *oga* 'eye', *såra* 'pain' and *waita* 'wheat'.

Table 3.40 The declension of *ära* 'ear' (N4-Wk-LS-a)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	ära	ärað		NOM	ära	ärụ
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT		ärą		DAT	ärum	

Note C6: Apocopated N4-Wk-LS-a nouns

Nouns of this type with a permanent apocope have the same form as shown in Table 3.40, except in the singular indefinite forms and in the plural nominative and accusative, where they lack the final vowel, for example, *olter*.SG.INDEF 'altar' → *oltrað*.NOM.SG.DEF, *glasog*.NOM/ACC.INDEF (compound) 'glasses' → *glasogụ*.NOM/ACC.PL.DEF.

3.2.1.3.5 N5-Wk-ˈV: Neuter, weak, ending in a stressed vowel

This class consists of monosyllabic N-St nouns ending in a stressed vowel, as in *kni* 'knee' (see Table 3.41), as well as in *bu* 'nest', *frie* 'seed' and *trai* 'tree'.

Table 3.41 The declension of *kni* 'knee' (N5-Wk-ˈV)

SG		INDEF	DEF	PL		INDEF	DEF
	NOM	kni	kni'tt		NOM	kni	kninę
	ACC				ACC		
	DAT		kninę		DAT	kni'mm	

3.2.4 The declension of proper names

Traditional place names and first names are usually declined according to the ordinary declension patterns. The declension of first names appears to have been in decline during the last period of LCE, with the exception of the vocative forms (see Section 3.2.4.1).

3.2.4.1 The declension of personal names and the vocative

When acting as the possessor, names follow one of the first two patterns for expressing possession shown in Section 3.1.3.7. Hence, 'Emil's dog' can be rendered by the expression *rattjin*.DEF *Iemil* or *Iemiles rakke*.INDEF. The third pattern, involving *að*, as in *rattjin að Wiktor*, is rather infrequent as a subject of a clause. However, when referring to an action involving body parts, constructions with *að* are common to denote possession, as in *An laggd sig upå fuotą að mumun* 'He lay down on Grandma's feet'. Strong masculine nouns remain unchanged in all three cases. Hence, in both *rattjin Iemil* and *Iemiles rakke*, the dative form *Iemil* (with the suffix *-es* in the second one) is used. Weak masculine names end in *-e* in the nominative and in *-a* in the accusative and dative. In *-es* constructions, the basic form is used rather than the dative form with weak masculine nouns. Hence, 'Lasse's dog' can be rendered by the expression *rattjin Lassa* or *Lassees rakke*.

Strong feminine first names are usually indeclinable, for example, *Djiertrauð* 'Gertrud' and *Margit* 'Margit'. However, those ending in a nasal vowel acquire an *-n* in the dative case, for example, *Elį* 'Elin' NOM/ACC → *Elin*.DAT and *Katrąi* → *Katrain*.DAT, *Kestę* 'Kerstin' → *Kesten*.DAT. Weak feminine first names end in *-a*, in the nominative and *-u* in the accusative and dative, for example, *Anna* 'Anna' → *Annu*.ACC/DAT. Feminine first names not assimilated into the Elfdalian system are usually indeclinable, for example, *Lena* and *Ulla* (see also Section 3.1.3.7).

The vocative case is used in a limited semantic field including traditional proper names and denotations of relatives. The vocative is optional in the sense that it is not used by all speakers. The vocative is formed either by 1) an apocope, sometimes with acute accent, for example, *Lasse* (male first name, grave accent) → *Lass*.VOC (acute accent), *Elvira* (female first name) → *Elvir*.VOC, *tytta* 'aunt' (mother's sister) → *tytt*.VOC or by 2) stress shift from the first to the second syllable, for example, *Ulåv* (male first name), pronounced *'Ulåv*.NOM but → *U'låv*.VOC, *fader* 'father; daddy', pronounced *'fader*.NOM →but *fadär*,[24] pronounced *fa'där*.VOC (note also the vowel change), *mumun* 'grandmother, grandma (from the mother's side)', pronounced *'mumun*.NOM and *mu'mun*.VOC (see also Section 2.5.3.3).

Avid si'tt <u>Annu/Lassa</u>?
Have you seen Anna.ACC/Lasse.ACC?

Kalln kliev autyr sliddåm og lypted fuost upp <u>Elin</u> og sę <u>Iedwig</u>.
The man stepped out of the sledge and lifted up Elį.DAT first and then Iedwig.DAT.

Kom nų, <u>Gunnar</u> [pronounced *Gu'nnar*], so winnum wįd dait firi kweldn.
Come on, Gunnar.VOC, so we will make it before the evening.

Kom nų, <u>tytt</u>!
Come on, auntie.VOC!

Du kuoker so guott jätå du, <u>mun</u>!
You cook such delicious food, Mum.VOC!

3.2.4.2 The declension of place names

The main rule for the declension is that place names corresponding to a noun in the definite form, or whose last element corresponds to such, are declinable, for example, *Nesbynn*, *Tjyörtjbynn*, *Övdaln*, *Åsär*.PL.DEF (or *Åsbynn*) (villages in Övdaln), *Nessjunn* (a lake in Övdaln) and *Äðbuðär*.PL.DEF (summer pasture shielings in Övdaln). On the other hand, place names not corresponding to a noun in the definite form, or whose last element does not correspond to such, remain indeclinable, for example, *Blibjärr*, *Kallser*, *Kåţeli*, *Luoka*, *Ruot*, *Yrånby*, *Äväsbjärr* (villages in Övdaln), *Amierik* 'America' and *Stokkol* 'Stockholm' (place names outside Övdaln).

Some place names take the old preposition *et* 'to' and the old genitive suffixes *-er* and *-s* to express direction, for example, *et Ruotner* 'to Ruot',

[24] Note that the stress mark is only used here to show the stress and is not a part of the orthography.

et Äväsbjärs 'to Äväsbjärr' (villages in Övdaln). Some examples are shown below.

Andes Olsson add sturaffärę i Tjyörtjbymm.
Andes Olsson had the big shop in Tjyörtjbynn.

An lär int dugå lat bli nog gamtkull frå Brunnsbjärr.
It seems as if he can't let go of one old (unmarried) woman from Brunnsbjärr.

Tä slut fuor å ađ Amierik min sturgossan senn.
Finally, she left for America with her oldest son.

Ig sta'nneđ i Falu nån dag eld anan. Ig willd autrett so mitjiđ so myölit mes ig war noger eller eld i Övdalim.
I stayed in Falun for a day or two. I wanted to accomplish as much as possible when I was somewhere else than in Övdaln.

3.3 The noun phrase

The Elfdalian noun phrase may include:

- A head, which may be a noun, for example, *buord* 'table', *Jugå* 'John (a proper name)', or a pronoun, for example, *ig* 'I'.
- The head may be accompanied by one or more modifiers. The modifier may be an article, for example, *iet buord* 'a table', *buordeđ*.DEF 'the table'; an adjective, for example, *iet brunt buord* 'a brown table', *brunbuordeđ*.DEF 'the brown table'; a pronoun, for example, *buordeđ*.DEF *mett* 'my table'; a numeral, for example, *tråy buord* 'three tables'; or a relative clause, for example, *buordeđ so stand jen* 'the table, which is here'.

The Elfdalian noun phrase may function as:

1) The subject:

   Dauvur irå jär og irå unggruger.
   The doves are here, and they are hungry.

   Mes famun war kulla, so war fafar påyk.
   When grandmother was a girl, grandfather was a boy.

   Järir Ulåv.
   Here is Ulåv.

Suolę skain.
The sun is shining.

Småpåykär åvå fygt mig niðað sju'mm.
The small boys accompanied me to the lake.

Eð raingner.
It rains.

2) The complement of the subject:

Mes famun war kulla, so war fafar påyk.
When my grandmother was a girl, my grandfather was a boy.

Övdalską ir iet språk.
Elfdalian is a language.

3) The direct object:

Inger fikk råk boð aintjų og sunärkunų ennes.
Inger met both the widow and her daughter-in-law.

4) The indirect object:

Ig ar djivið dauvum boð ertär og waitbröð.
I gave the doves both peas and white bread.

5) The possession attribute of another noun or noun phrase:

a) With possessive suffixes or in the dative case:

Ulåves kulla.
Ulåv's daughter.

Ien stur dag i firmunes istorr war eð.
It was a big day in the company's history.

Ig kam ostrað nybyddję Tiennkallum.
I went to the east, to the new construction belonging to Tiennkallär (people from the Tenngardn farm).

6) The complement of a preposition:

Suolę kuogär fram millå muolntappum.
The sun peeks out between the wisps of clouds.

Darfrå djinggum wįð umstað els å Katt-Gottfrið.
From there we left to visit Katt-Gottfrið.

Mun að Ierik kam min kaffi að ånum.
Ierik's mother came with coffee for him.

3.4 Nouns and their accents

Nouns are pronounced with either acute or grave accent (see Section 2.4.2). The pitch accent changes throughout the paradigm, depending on the structure of the noun and the inflectional suffix. On a basic level, the acute accent is associated with monosyllabic stems, for example, *fisk* 'fish' and *buord* 'table', whereas the grave accent is associated with disyllabic stems, for example, *rakke* 'dog' and *pära* 'potato' (see also Section 13.1).

- In the definite forms of the nouns, the noun retains its accent from the basic form. Hence, the monosyllabic *fisk* 'fish' takes the acute accent in the basic or indefinite form, and retains the acute accent in the definite form *fistjin*.DEF. On the other hand, *rakke* 'dog' takes the grave accent in the basic indefinite form , as it is disyllabic, and retains the grave accent in the definite form *rattjin*. The accent patterns may change according to case and number. Certain words or word forms are therefore differentiated only by pitch accent, such as *buordę*.DAT.SG.DEF (grave accent) versus *buordę*.NOM.PL.DEF (acute accent).
- Disyllabic words with a svarabhakti vowel in the last syllable take the acute accent in their basic forms for historical reasons, for example, *ungen* 'oven' and *witter* 'winter'. They acquire a grave accent in the dative, hence *witter*.NOM/ACC (acute) versus *witter*.DAT (grave).
- Nouns with grave accent retain their accent even when an apocope occurs, for example, *ien rakke* (grave) 'a dog', *ið war ien rakk* (grave) *jen* 'there was a dog here'.

4
Adjectives and participles

This chapter accounts for Elfdalian adjectives, their form and function, and likewise for past and present participles.

A few Elfdalian adverbs may function as adjectives semantically and syntactically, for example, *atte* 'closed (lit. 'again, back')', *iemmfuota* 'with both feet kept together', '*nęr* 'near, close', *nụoga* 'precisely, accurately; precise, accurate', *lagum* 'moderately, in a moderate quantity or quality', *uppe* 'open' (lit. 'up') and *ymslund, oðerwais* 'differently; different', *ą̊* '(turned) on' and *åv* '(turned) off'.

4.1 Attributive and independent variants of adjectives and pronouns

Declinable adjectives, declinable pronouns, as well as the numeral *ienn* 'one', have two variants in some forms in their paradigm: attributive and what we here call 'independent' variants. The attributive variant occurs immediately before the noun it modifies, whereas the independent variant does not (see Section 5.6 et seq.). The attributive variant may sometimes be the apocopated form of the word (e.g. *slaiku* 'such.N.SG.DAT' as an independent variant, but *slaik* as an attributive variant), but also other processes may take place (e.g. *sturer* 'big.M/F.PL.NOM' as an independent variant, but *stur* as an attributive variant; *strukner* 'stroked; ironed.M/F.PL.NOM' as an independent form, but *strutjin* as an attributive form). For examples, see Table 4.1.

In this book, the attributive variant appears in Chapters 4 and 5 without parentheses, whereas the independent variant appears in parentheses (either as a suffix added to the attributive form or as a separate form), for example, *stur(er)* 'big.M/F.PL.NOM' and *nogrer (nog)*.M/F.PL.NOM'.

Table 4.1 Attributive and independent variants of adjectives and pronouns

Attributive variant	Independent variant
Ig ar ien wait buok. 'I have a white.F.SG.ACC book.'	*Ig ar ien waita* 'I have a white one.F.SG.ACC'
stur rakker 'big.M.PL dogs.'	*Rakkär irå sturer.* 'The dogs are big.M.PL'
Ig al rjes nog pärur. 'I shall clean some.F.PL.ACC potatoes.'	*Ig al rjes nogrer.* 'I shall clean some.F.PL.ACC'
Ig kennes wið iss kullụ. 'I know this.F.ACC.SG girl.'	*Ig kennes wið issa.* 'I know this.F.ACC.SG one.'
Ar du si'tt main rakka? 'Have you seen my dogs.M.ACC.SG.INDEF?' (emphatic object)	*Ar du si'tt rakką maina?* 'Have you seen my dogs.M.ACC.SG.DEF?'
Mikkel studenter byddj dar. 'Many.M.PL students live there.'	*Eð ir mikkler so byddj dar.* 'There are many.M.PL who live there.'

Note:

- *Ar du si'tt main rakka?* The possessive noun is emphasised in this sentence.

4.2 The declension of adjectives and participles

Elfdalian adjectives typically agree with the noun that they modify according to case, gender and number, the exception being adjective–noun compounds (see Section 4.3). For example, in the example that follows, the adjective *full* 'full' receives the neuter singular nominative suffix *-t* in order to agree with the neuter noun *stjul* 'shed'. Likewise, *stur* 'large' receives the dative plural suffix *-um* in order to agree with the masculine noun *papirruller* 'paper rolls' in the dative. Likewise, the adjective *ny* 'new' takes the masculine accusative singular suffix *-an* to agree with the masculine noun *wið* 'firewood'.

> **Iet stjul so war <u>fullt</u> åv <u>sturum</u> papirrullum.**
> A shed that was full.N of big.PL.DAT paper rolls.

> **Ig laggd å <u>nyan</u> wið.**
> I put on new.M.ACC firewood.

The declensional patterns come in different types depending on the adjective and its morphological and phonological structure. We divide these into four major types with sub-variations, which we present in this chapter.

1) Type 1 includes a large number of adjectives and past participles, most of which are long-syllabled, that is, where the root syllable contains a long vowel or consonant, or a consonant cluster (Sections 4.2.1.1 to 4.2.1.3).
2) Type 2 includes adjectives which were historically short-syllabled, that is, where the root historically only contained short segments (Sections 4.2.1.4 and 4.2.1.5).
3) Type 3 includes past participles of strong verbs, as well as a few adjectives with similar phonological structure (Sections 4.2.1.6 to 4.2.1.8).
4) Type 4 includes indeclinable adjectives (Section 4.2.1.9).

Furthermore, adjectives acquire different suffixes depending on whether they are used in *attributive* or *independent* position, as shown in the examples that follow. If not otherwise shown in brackets, the form is used both attributively and predicatively/independently.

> **Men eð werd it so <u>laungg</u> stjyörur.**
> But I cannot manage for so long (lit. 'it will not be so long.ATTR.PL moments').

> **Fuotär irå <u>laungger</u> og armär og.**
> His legs are long.PRED.PL and his arms too (lit. 'the legs are long.PL and the arms too').

Adjectives may sometimes also form compounds with nouns (adjective + noun), in which case the adjectives appear in their basic form, for example, *roðwin* 'red wine' (cf. *ro'tt win*, when not used as a compound). Compounding is generally the rule when the adjective is used with a definite noun, for example, *įe roð buok* 'a red book', but *roðbuotję* 'the red book' (see further Section 4.2.2).

In polysyllabic adjectives as well as adjectives that form the last part of a compound, final vowels are permanently apocopated (see Section 2.5.3.1). Therefore, while, for example, *laungg* 'long' takes a dative neuter ending suffix *-u* in an independent position, the compound *avlaungg* 'oblong' does not take a suffix in the neuter dative singular. This is shown in, for example, *bundn* in Table 4.7. Palatalised stems (Tables 4.8 and 4.9) and stems with *g*-loss (Section 4.2.1.8) receive an epenthetic vowel in this case, that is, *bundn* (not **bundnu*) and *sprukken* (not **sprukknu* or **sprukkn*).

4.2.1 Adjectives and past participles agreeing with nouns

4.2.1.1 Long-syllabled (Type 1a)

Type 1 includes adjectives and past participles that are long-syllabled, that is, where the root syllable contains a long vowel or consonant, or a consonant cluster. Participles belonging to this type derive from weak verbs on *-d* and *-t*, such as *kennd* 'known' and *tjyöpt* 'bought'. For the formation of past participles, see Section 4.5.2. Moreover, the irregular past participle *gar* 'made; done; ripe' belongs here.

The declension of long-syllabled adjectives is as follows, using the adjective *stur* 'big' as an example (see Table 4.2). The following adjectives decline likewise: *grann* 'beautiful', *guol* 'yellow', *laungg* 'long', *swensk* 'Swedish', *stark* 'strong', *tyst* 'quiet' and *övdalsk* 'Elfdalian'.

Table 4.2 The declension of *stur* 'big' (Type 1a)

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">1a</th><th colspan="3">SG</th><th colspan="3">PL</th></tr>
<tr><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>stur</td><td>stur</td><td rowspan="2">sturt</td><td>stur (`) (sturer)</td><td rowspan="2">stur (`) (sturer)</td><td rowspan="2">sturu̧ (sturer)</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>sturan</td><td>stur (`)[1] (stura)</td><td>stur (`) (stura)</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>sturum</td><td>stur (`)</td><td>stur (`) (sturu)[2]</td><td colspan="3">sturum</td></tr>
</table>

Notes:

- Some consonants undergo assimilation before the neuter suffix *-t*, but the vowel length is generally kept, for example, *d* → *t*: *werd* → *wert* 'worth'; *ð* → *'tt*: *rođ* → *ro'tt* 'red'.[3] If the stem ends in a consonant + *-t*, no additional neuter *-t* is added: *swart* 'black' → *iet swart aus* 'a black house'; compare *wait* 'white' → *wai'tt*.
- A few adjectives on *-sk* undergo metathesis in the neuter: *frisk* → *frikst* 'fresh', *besk* > *bekst* 'bitter' (see Section 2.5.8). Most adjectives do not, however: *swensk* → *swenskt* 'Swedish', *fantastisk* → *fantastiskt* 'fantastic'.
- The adjective *tuorr* 'dry' undergoes vowel lengthening and consonant shortening in the neuter: *tuort*.
- Disyllabic adjectives with a final *-er, -el* or *-en* syncopate their *-e-* before another vowel, for example, *lekker* 'scrumptious' + *-er* → *lekkrer*, not **lekkerer*.

[1] A grave accent (`) is used in tables to show explicitly that the form is pronounced with a grave accent. Unless otherwise marked, monosyllabic forms carry acute accent, and polysyllabic forms grave. See Section 2.4.2.

[2] The independent form of the neuter dative suffix singular is *-a* in villages west of the Dal River and *-å* in the village of Åsär for all paradigms.

[3] The exception is *guođ* 'good', where the vowel is also shortened: *guott* (i.e. not **guo'tt*).

- The adjective *gåmål* 'old' alternates between the short-syllabled root *gåmål-* in the nominative singular, as well as in the accusative neuter singular, and a long-syllabled variant with a *b*, *gambel-*, elsewhere. With an additional suffix syllable, a syncope additionally takes place, as in **gambelum* → *gamblum*. See the whole declension in Table 4.3.

  Moreover, as a first element in a compound, *gåmål-* usually takes the form *gambel-* before sonorants and *gamt-* elsewhere; for example, *gambelmasin* 'old machine', but *gamtfuok* '(the) old people'.
- The adjectives *diger* 'thick, fat, pregnant' and *wisäl* 'miserable, pitiful' follow the same endings, but alternate between long and short syllables throughout the paradigm. *Diger* is only long in the nominative singular and accusative neuter singular, and short everywhere else, and *wisäl* is short in all forms except the accusative masculine singular *wisslan*, where it is long, mostly used in the expression *tyttj wisslan* 'feel sorry for'.
- Adjectives with final stressed long vowels have a neuter suffix *-'tt*, for example, *ny* 'new' > *ny'tt*.[4]

Table 4.3 The declension of *gåmål* 'old' (irregular)

1a	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	gåmål	gåmål	gåmålt	gambel (`) (gambler)	gambel (`) (gambler)	gamblụ (gambler)
ACC	gamblan	gambel (`)		gambel (`)		
DAT	gamblum	gambel (`)	gambel (`)	gamblum		

An add ien <u>launggan</u> bysstor attrą ryddjem.
He had a long.ACC.M shooting stick on his back.

Ig såg tau <u>roðụ</u> follber dar ą oðer saiðun um we'n.
I saw two red.PL.N raspberries on the other side of the road.

An lit sig <u>bistemmdan</u>.
He sounded determined.ACC.M.

4.2.1.2 Adjectives on -lin, -in, -un (Type 1b)

This type includes adjectives with the adjectival suffixes *-lin*, *-in* and *-un*. The endings *-lin* and *-un* are very common adjectival endings, whereas *-in* is less common.

[4] Some of these have a final *-r* in the masculine and feminine nominative singular for some speakers, primarily in villages west of the river (e.g. *nyr* 'new', *blår* 'blue', *grår* 'grey'), but are *r*-less east of the river.

Adjectives of this type have a unique feminine form when used attributively, demonstrated here with the adjective *trivlin* (see Table 4.4). The singular neuter nominative and accusative suffix is *-it*. This distinction between masculine/feminine in the nominative singular is for the most part not used predicatively.

Other adjectives declined this way are *artin* 'polite', *biendun* 'handy', *dritun* 'dirty', *duktin* 'clever, *guossklin* 'pleasant, nice', skilled', *painun* 'troublesome, difficult', *trivlin* 'nice, pleasant', and *wanlin* 'ordinary, common'.

Table 4.4 The declension of *trivlin* 'nice, pleasant' (Type 1b)

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">1b</th><th colspan="3">SG</th><th colspan="3">PL</th></tr>
<tr><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>trivlin</td><td>trivlig</td><td rowspan="2">trivlit</td><td>trivlig (trivliger)</td><td rowspan="2">trivlig (trivliger)</td><td rowspan="2">trivligų (trivliger)</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>trivligan</td><td rowspan="2">trivlig</td><td>trivlig</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>trivligum</td><td>trivlig</td><td colspan="3">trivligum</td></tr>
</table>

Mennistją ir so frek og <u>trivlin</u>.
The person is so kind and nice.PRED.F.

Å duoneð i årdningg ien <u>weldug</u> smyörstäpu.
She prepared a large puff pastry.ATTR.F.

4.2.1.3 Ending on -að, -åð (Type 1c)

This type mainly comprises past participles of weak verbs, which for the most part follow the same declensional pattern as the adjectives accounted for above. This type likewise includes a few adjectives.

Past participles ending on *-að* are long-syllabled, whereas those ending in *-åð* are short-syllabled, for example, *målað* 'painted' (see Table 4.5), as well as *elað* 'killed', *lieðugåð* 'mean', *plegåð* 'full, unthirsty' and *skåðåð* 'hurt'.

Table 4.5 The declension of *mǫ̨lað* 'painted' (Type 1c)

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">1c</th><th colspan="3">SG</th><th colspan="3">PL</th></tr>
<tr><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>mǫ̨lað</td><td rowspan="3">mǫ̨lað</td><td rowspan="3">mǫ̨lað</td><td>mǫ̨lað
(mǫ̨laðer)</td><td rowspan="2">mǫ̨lað
(mǫ̨laðer)</td><td rowspan="2">mǫ̨laðu̧
(mǫ̨laðer)</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>mǫ̨laðan</td><td>mǫ̨lað</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>mǫ̨laðum</td><td colspan="3">mǫ̨laðum</td></tr>
</table>

Dier add twär mausuglur <u>uppspaikaðer</u> uppyvyr stollsdörum.
They had two tawny owls that had been nailed.PL to the wall above the barn doors.

Trair wulkaner irå aktiver, og ienn ir <u>slukknað</u>.
Three volcanoes are active, and one is dormant (lit. 'burnt out').

Noger so ir dålit klä'dd, og kanstji boð u̧otwai'n og <u>u̧oråkåð</u> og.
Someone who is badly dressed and perhaps both unwashed and unshaven.

Kullur å iemę̨ war so <u>lieðugåðer</u>.
The girls at the retirement home were so mean.PL.

4.2.1.4 Short-syllabled adjectives (Type 2a)

This type consists of short-syllabled adjectives, that is, adjectives that are historically short, but were lengthened in their monosyllabic forms (e.g. *berir* (˘) but *be:r*).[5] These are characterised by the suffix *-ir* in the independent masculine plural nominative form, as in *ber* 'bare, naked' (see Table 4.6), as well as in *twer* 'steep' and *frek* 'kind'.

Note that the plural suffix *-ir* causes palatalisation on the previous consonant, that is, *frek* → *fretjir* 'kind' (see Section 2.5.1).

[5] A breve accent (˘) is occasionally used in this chapter to explicitly mark short-syllabic forms from long. as this is not normally shown in the orthography, e.g. *dĭger* [dìɣer] 'thick.PL' (short-syllabic) or *diger* [dí:ɣer] 'thick.SG' (long-syllabic).

Table 4.6 The declension of *ber* 'bare, naked' (Type 2a)

2a	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	ber	ber	bert	berå (berir)	berå (berir)	berų (berir)
ACC	berån / beran	ber (`) (bera)		berå (bera)		
DAT	berum (ˇ/`)	ber (`)	ber (`) (beru)	berum (ˇ)		

Dier irå so <u>wai'ssliger</u> og <u>fretjir</u>.
They are so delighted.PL and kind.PL.

An låg uvå tiennan å en-dar <u>tweå</u> nördersaiðun og ly'dde.
He lay above the small lake on that steep.DAT.F north side and listened.

4.2.1.5 Short syllabled with -a-, -ą- (Type 2b)

This type comprises some adjectives with *a* or *ą* as their root vowel, which were historically short-syllabled also in their monosyllabic forms, as in *glað* 'happy' (see Table 4.7).

If the long, monosyllabic form contains a nasal vowel, the nasality is usually lost in the short-syllabled forms.

Table 4.7 The declension of *glað* 'happy' (Type 2b)

2b	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	glað	glað	gla'tt	glað (`) (glaðir)	glað (`) (glaðir)	glaðų (`) (glaðir)
ACC	glaðan	glað (`) (glaða)		glað (`) (glaða)		
DAT	glaðum	glað (`)	glað (`) (glaðu)	glaðum		

Adjectives of this type include *glað* 'happy', *lat* 'lazy' and *snąr* 'quick'.

Ig kumb min buoð að ið at ið ulið war sturfaingner, ollt fuok ul werd <u>glaðir</u>.
I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. (lit. 'I come with tidings that you shall be very happy, all people will be glad.PL')

Dier irå so <u>latir</u>!
They are so lazy.PL!

4.2.1.6 Long-syllabled on n, -in (Type 3a)

This type includes past participles of long-syllabled strong verbs and a few adjectives ending in *n* or *in*, as well as the irregular adjective *litn* 'small, little'.

Past participles of strong verbs may end in *-n, -'n* (i.e. with a syllabic *n*) or *-in* when deriving from long-syllabled roots, for example, *bundn* 'bound' → *binda* 'bind' (see Table 4.8), as well as *sluppin* 'escaped, avoided' ← *slippa* 'escape, avoid', *drai'n* 'pulled, dragged' ← *drågå* 'pull, drag' and *twai'n* 'washed' ← *twå* 'wash'. Some long-syllabled adjectives on *-n, -in* and *-'n* also belong to this paradigm, for example, *armin* 'sorrowful', *biravin* 'capable; determined; outgoing', *lie'ssn* 'sad' and *yppen* 'open'.[6]

This type is characterised by a distinction between the masculine and feminine in the nominative singular in attributive position, for example, *ien spruttjin was* 'a cracked vase' but *ję spruttję stjiva* 'a cracked disc'. In an independent position, however, the distinction is normally neutralised in favour of the masculine form, that is, *wasn/stjivą ir spruttjin* 'the vase/the disc is cracked'.

Table 4.8 The declension of *bundn* 'bound' (Type 3a)

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">3a</th><th colspan="3">SG</th><th colspan="3">PL</th></tr>
<tr><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>bundn</td><td>bundę (bundn)</td><td rowspan="2">bundeð</td><td>bundn (bundner)</td><td rowspan="2">bundn (bundner)</td><td rowspan="2">bundnų (bundner)</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>bundnan</td><td rowspan="2">bundn</td><td>bundn</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>bundnum</td><td>bundn</td><td colspan="3">bundnum</td></tr>
</table>

Note: The paradigm for long-syllabled past participles is as follows.[7] According to the rules of palatalisation (Section 2.5.1), if the verb root ends in *-kk*, *-gg* or *-ngg*, the stop consonant is regularly palatalised before the participle suffix *-in*, for example, *sprikka* → *spruttjin* 'cracked', *ogga* → *eddjin* 'hewed, chopped', *twingga* → *tundjin* 'forced'. Note, however, that palatalisation does not occur in forms ending on *-en*, which was originally an epenthetic /e/ (see Section 2.5.4.1). Palatalisation causes an alternation between the palatalised and unpalatalised stems throughout

[6] In independent positions, the form *uppe* is used.

[7] The participles *drai'n* 'pulled, dragged' and *slai'n* 'beaten' are somewhat irregular in that their neuter singular forms *draið* and *slaið* are is monosyllabic.

the paradigm (see Table 4.9). Other past participles declined likewise are *strutjin* 'stroked, ironed', *witjin* 'folded' and *autretjin* 'pushed out'.

Table 4.9 The declension of *spruttjin* 'cracked' (Type 3a)

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">3a
(Pal.)</td><td colspan="3">SG</td><td colspan="3">PL</td></tr>
<tr><td>M</td><td>F</td><td>N</td><td>M</td><td>F</td><td>N</td></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>spruttjin</td><td>spruttję
(spruttjin)</td><td rowspan="2">spruttjeð</td><td>sprukken
(sprukkner)</td><td rowspan="2">sprukken
(sprukkner)</td><td rowspan="2">sprukknų
(sprukkner)</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>sprukknan</td><td rowspan="2">sprukken</td><td>sprukken
(sprukkner)</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>sprukknum</td><td></td><td>sprukken</td><td colspan="3">sprukknum</td></tr>
</table>

Note: The adjective *litn* 'small, little' has an irregular declension (see Table 4.10), as it includes the root *lissl-* in all forms except the nominative singular, for example, *ien litn kåv* 'a little calf', but *ig såg ien lisslan kåv* 'I saw a little calf'. In addition, the plural usually uses the suppletive root *smą̊-* (inflected like *ny*, see Table 4.2 and its last note).

Table 4.10 The declension of *litn* 'small, little' (irregular)

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">SG</td><td colspan="3">PL</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>M</td><td>F</td><td>N</td><td>M</td><td>F</td><td>N</td></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>litn</td><td>litę (litn)</td><td rowspan="2">liteð</td><td>smą̊ (`) (smą̊er)<br>lissl (`) (lissler)</td><td rowspan="2">smą̊ (`) (smą̊er)<br>lissl (`) (lissler)</td><td>smą̊ų (smą̊er)
lisslų (lissler)</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>lisslan</td><td rowspan="2">lissl (`)</td><td>smą̊ (`) lissl (`)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>lisslum</td><td></td><td>lissl (`)</td><td colspan="2">smą̊um lisslum</td></tr>
</table>

Liuost bluoð buseð autyr lunggum so war <u>sundskuotner</u>.
Light blood flooded from the lungs that had been shot.PL to bits.

Ig skrieveð ått saiður i ien <u>lissl</u> buok.
I wrote eight pages in a little.DAT.F book.

Eð ir dą̊ riktut liuo'tt åvå rakkan <u>bundnan</u>.
It is really mean to have the dog tied up.ACC.M.

Ig minnes ien kall so fuor i gardum og war <u>druttijn</u>.
I remember a man who was drunk.M/F and went from farm to farm.

Irum <u>tungner</u> sją̊ til at krippär fą̊ noð tä erva.
We have to make sure that the children have something to inherit (lit. 'we are forced.PL to').

Bar djästär byr å werd drukkner, finn dier fram semmera win.
As soon as the guests begin to become drunk.PL, they put out poorer wine.

4.2.1.7 Short-syllabled on -in (Type 3b)

Short-syllabled past participles of strong verbs end in *-in* and have the feminine suffix *-į* (as opposed to long-syllabled equivalents, which have the feminine suffix *-ǫ*). These may derive from short-syllabled verbs, for example, *grevin* 'dug' → *gråvå* 'dig' and *wevin* 'woven' ← *wevå* 'weave', but also from long-syllabled verbs of some classes, for example, *frusin* 'frozen' ← *friuosa* 'freeze' (see Table 4.11) and *bitin* 'bitten' ← *baita* 'bite'.

Some adjectives also belong to this class, for example, *autferin* 'exhausted; worn out', *galin* 'crazy' and *loðin* 'hairy'.[8] For the formation of past participles, see Section 4.5.2.

Table 4.11 The declension of *frusin* 'frozen' (Type 3b)

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">3b</th><th colspan="3">SG</th><th colspan="3">PL</th></tr>
<tr><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>frusin</td><td>frusį (frusin)</td><td rowspan="2">frusið</td><td>frusin (frusner)</td><td rowspan="2">frusin (frusner)</td><td rowspan="2">frusnų (frusner)</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>frusnan</td><td rowspan="2">frusin</td><td>frusin</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>frusnum</td><td>frusin</td><td colspan="3">frusnum</td></tr>
</table>

Note: Similarly to the long-syllabled strong participles described in Section 4.2.1.6, short-syllabled strong participles derived from verbs whose C2 is *-k* or *-g* undergo palatalisation (Section 2.5.1) before the participle suffix *-in*, as in *strutjin* 'stroked, ironed' (see Table 4.12). Other past participles of this type include *witjin* 'folded' and *autretjin* 'pushed out'.

Table 4.12 The declension of *strutjin* 'stroked, ironed' (Type 3b)

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">3c (Pal.)</th><th colspan="3">SG</th><th colspan="3">PL</th></tr>
<tr><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>strutjin</td><td>strutjį (strutjin)</td><td rowspan="2">strutjið</td><td>strutjin (strukner)</td><td rowspan="2">strutjin (strukner)</td><td rowspan="2">struknų (strukner)</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>struknan</td><td>strutjin (struken)</td><td>strutjin (struken)</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>struknum</td><td>strutjin</td><td>strutjin (struken)</td><td colspan="3">struknum</td></tr>
</table>

[8] For the adjective *loðin* 'hairy', assimilation of **ðn* > *nn* occurs, e.g. *lånnan* with nasal *å* (< **loðnan*) in the masculine accusative, or in the plural attributive: *lånn* (< **loðn*) and in the independent position *lånner* (< **loðner*).

Ig wart boð <u>frusin</u> og.
I became cold.M/F as well.

Buokandlerär war naug straindjeli <u>febuoðner</u> tä slepp að djimienmannem ån buotję.
The bookdealers were probably strictly forbidden.PL to hand over that book to ordinary people.

Įe <u>loðį</u> guonna.
A hairy.F wood-nymph (a female familiar in the popular belief).

An åt min snautų <u>niðretjin</u> i tauvär.
He ate with his snout pushed down.M/F among the tufts.

4.2.1.8 Roots with loss of -g- + n (Type 3c)

A very small group of adjectives have roots ending on *-g*, which is lost before suffixes beginning on a vowel, or before syllabic *-n* (see Section 2.5.2.2 on deletion of *g*), such as *muo'n* 'ripe, mature' (see Table 4.13). Other adjectives of this type include *truo'n* 'true, faithful', *guoðtruo'n* 'gullible' and *ienträ'n* 'insistent' (alongside *ienträgen* without *g*-loss).

Table 4.13 The declension of *muo'n* 'ripe, mature' (Type 3c)

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="2">3c</th><th colspan="3">SG</th><th colspan="3">PL</th></tr>
<tr><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>muo'n</td><td>muoę (muo'n)</td><td rowspan="2">muoeð</td><td>muo'n (muogner)</td><td rowspan="2">muo'n (muogner)</td><td rowspan="2">muognų (muogner)</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>muognan</td><td rowspan="2">muo'n (muogen)</td><td>muo'n (muogen)</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>muognum</td><td>muo'n (muogen)</td><td colspan="3">muognum</td></tr>
</table>

4.2.1.9 Indeclinable adjectives (Type 4)

A few adjectives are indeclinable, for example, *iwari* 'aware', *djärå* 'tiresome, difficult', *uoni* 'accustomed, habituated', *snįeða* 'on heat, rutting' and *rieðu* 'ready'.

Dier wart it <u>iwari</u> diem.
They did not notice them.

Nų ir baurstatjeð <u>rieðu</u>.
The cabin roof is finished now.

Present participles such as *läend* 'laughing' could also be regarded as virtually indeclinable, although they may take a plural suffix: *läend* or *läender* 'laughing.PL', see Section 4.5.1.

> **Ig saggd fel åv nog istorr eld oðer, so wartum läender ålent åv.**
> I told a story or two, so all of us started laughing.PL.

4.2.2 Adjectives as first element in compounds

Elfdalian uses compounds consisting of adjective + noun or past participle + noun more frequently than English and also more than Swedish. As previously mentioned, this is generally the rule when the adjective is used with a definite noun, for example, *roðbuotję* 'the red book'. However, such compounds may also occur with indefinite nouns in some lexicalised words, for example, *lislkull* 'small girl', *frekågoss* 'kind lad' and *gambeluost* 'old cheese'.

As shown in the example, compounds are formed using the stem of the adjective or past participle, whereas the number, gender and case are shown by the noun. Hence, no additional adjective endings are used.

> **ien malietin rukk**
> a moth-eaten coat
>
> **malietinruttjin**
> the moth-eaten coat

In some cases when the adjective is emphasised, often together with a demonstrative pronoun, it can occur independently in front of the noun. In this case the adjective is pronounced with grave accent, as the final vowel has been apocopated (see Section 2.5.3). Compare the adjective in the second example that follows, which is slightly more emphasised than the first.

> **Ig add roðbuotję min mig.**
> I brought the red book.
>
> **Ig add ą̊-dar roð (̀) buotję min mig.**
> I brought that red book.

Some adjectives have a separate form when used as the first component of a compound. Monosyllabic old short-syllabled adjectives, for example, *ber* 'bare' or *frek* 'kind', receive a suffix *-å,* for example, *beråkwið* 'bare stomach', *frekågoss* 'kind lad'.[9] For *litn*, the compound form is *lisl-* or

[9] Cf. also *nakun* 'naked' + *rass* 'bottom' > *nakurass* 'naked person'.

sometimes *lissl-*. For *gåmål*, the compound form varies between *gambel-*, and *gamt-*. A basic rule is that *găm̄bel-* is used before sonorants and *gamt-* elsewhere, for example, *gambelatt* 'old hat', but *gamtkall* 'old man'; but this varies between villages.

4.2.3 Nominalised adjectives

Adjectives may be nominalised, in which case they are inflected like definite nouns. In the masculine or the feminine, they denote people, personifications or living things, whereas in the neuter they denote things, for example, *liuot* 'evil' → *Liuotn* 'the evil one, the devil'; *ynggst* 'youngest' → *ynggstn* 'the youngest one'; *sår* 'painful; evil' → *såråd*.N 'the evil'. See an example with *gambeln*.M 'the old one; the old thing (neuter)' and so on in Table 4.14.

When superlative adjectives are nominalised, the nominalising endings are added after the superlative suffix (see Section 4.4), for example, *wiktun* 'important' → *wiktugest* 'most important' → *wiktugestad* 'the most important thing'.

Table 4.14 The declension of *gambeln* 'the old one, the old thing'

	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	gambeln	gamblą	gamblad	gamblär	gamblur	gamblų
ACC	gamblan	gamblų		gamblą		
DAT	gamblum	gamblun	gamblą	gamblum		

<u>Ynggstn</u> war ien slaik waturaller.
The youngest one.M was a builder of energy plants.

Ir ed i <u>sturun</u> eld <u>lisslun</u>?
Is it in the big one.DAT.F or the small one.DAT.F?

Nų ulum wįd lat <u>gamblad</u> wåra sos ed wart iessn.
Now we will let the old things (lit. 'the old.ACC.N') be as it turned out to be once.

Ig enst it <u>sårą</u> nod.
I didn't care about the evil.DAT.N.

Ed ir <u>wiktugestad</u> ig ar gart i dag.
It is the most important thing.N I have done today.

4.2.4 Object complements

Adjectives in predicative object expressions are typically in the accusative case, except after *kolla* 'call', where the nominative is used. The singular masculine accusative suffix *-an* has in many cases been generalised and used even with feminine and plural referents, for example, *ig tyttjer wisslan diem* 'I feel sorry for them' or *dier sop sig fullan* 'they got themselves drunk'.[10]

> **Eð ir dą riktut liuo'tt åvå rakkan <u>bundnan</u>.**
> It is really mean to have the dog tied up.ACC.M.

4.2.5 Comparison

Elfdalian adjectives, like those of other Germanic languages, have three degrees of comparison: the positive, the comparative and the superlative. The comparative endings are *-er(a)* and the superlative *-est*. See the comparison of *ny* 'new' as an example in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15 The comparison of *ny* 'new'

Positive	Comparative	Superlative
ny 'new'	*nyer(a)* 'newer'	*nyest* 'newest'

Notes:

- The *-a* in *-er(a)* is optional in the singular and may or may not be apocopated (see Section 2.5.3). In the plural, the vowel is not apocopated in order to distinguish it from the plural suffix *-er*. They are not declined by case or number, unless they are nominalised (see Section 4.2.3).
- Adjectives on *-lin, -in* or *-un* add the endings to a root on *-g*, that is, *trivlin-trivliger(a)-trivligest*.

> **Mes ig war <u>yngger</u> byggd ig grann min Rais-Ulåv.**
> When I was younger, I lived next to Rais-Ulåv.

> **Aut sir eð aut werd <u>mörkera</u> muoln ostryvyr Byönnbjärr.**
> Outside it looks as if there will be darker clouds east over Byönnbjärr.

> **<u>Gamblest</u> påytjin add feð að Amierik.**
> The oldest son went to America.

[10] We lack attested examples for an object complement in the dative case, i.e. a hypothetical **old staðim rienem* 'keep the city clean'.

4.2.5.1 Irregular comparison

Some adjectives have irregular comparison. These are listed in Table 4.16.[11]

Table 4.16 Adjectives with irregular comparison

Positive	Comparative	Superlative	Gloss
bien	*biener(a)*	*bję̨st*[12]	'short, direct' (of roads, etc.)
bra, guoð	*better(a) / wilder(a)*	*best / wildest*	'good'
dålin	*semmer(a)*	*semst*	'bad'
gåmål	*gambler(a)*	*gamblest*	'old'
klien	*werra*	*wesst*	'bad'
laungg	*laingger(a)*	*lainggst*	'long'
litn	*minna*	*minst*	'small'
og	*öger(a) / oger(a)*	*ögest / ogest*	'high'
snąr	*snärär(a)*	*snäräst*	'quick'
stur	*styörra*	*styöst*	'big'
tungg	*tyngger(a)*	*tynggst*	'heavy'
ungg	*yngger(a)*	*ynggst*	'young'
watun	*wätärä*	*wätäst*	'skilled, good'
–	*åy'tter-*	*åyst, au'ttest*	'towards the outside'

Notes:

- *laingger(a)*: with acute accent.
- *styörra*: regionally also *styörrer(a)*. The final vowel is regularly apocopated, as seen in the second example.
- *åy'tter*: this adjective lacks an absolute form. In the comparative, it is used as a first element in a compound, for example, åy'tterdörär 'outer door; front door'.

An ir fel <u>wätäst</u> brindstjyttn so finns jär i sokken.
He is the most skilled elk hunter in the parish.

Siglę̨ add weð <u>styörr</u> eld stjinnfelldn dier add i legun iema.
The sails were bigger than the skin rug they had in their bed at home.

Ig ar buorið norter <u>styöst</u> kupärketiln.
I have carried the largest copper cauldron to the north.

Werdið avundsiuoker – og eð saggd duktern war <u>wesst</u> siuoką so fanns.
You will be envious – and the doctor said that is the worst illness of them all.

[11] Dialectally, other adjectives may also be compared irregularly, for instance *stutt* 'short', *stytter(a), styttest*.
[12] Only found in the compound *bję̨stweg* 'shortcut'.

4.3 Adjective phrase

The adjective phrase is a phrase that has the adjective as its head. An adjective phrase may consist solely of its head or of a head with various attributes.

> **Du ir duktin.**
> You are skilled.
>
> **Du ir uvendes duktin.**
> You are very skilled.

The dependents in an adjective phrase are also commonly a prepositional phrase. The case governed by the preposition can be either accusative or dative depending on the preposition; for example, *jälåk å* 'angry with sb', which governs the accusative, but *full i* 'full of', which governs the dative.

> **An war jälåk å krippą.**
> He was angry with the children.
>
> **Graseð war fullt i starkum luptum.**
> The grass was full of strong smells.

A few adjectives take a complement, usually with a complement in the dative case, for example, *faingen* 'happy, content', *waislin* 'delighted; happy; obviously happy and content', *iwari* 'aware', *laik* 'similar' and *uoni* 'accustomed'; some adjectives have a complement in the accusative case, such as *bliuog* 'shy' and *redd* 'scared'.

> **An wart iwari krippum.**
> He noticed the children.DAT.PL.
>
> **Ig ir it uoni dyö.**
> I'm not used to that.DAT.
>
> **Å ir it redd rakkan.**
> She is not scared of the dog.ACC.

The dependent may also be a clause:

> **Ig war so faingen ig wann snett åv.**
> I was so happy that I managed to get away.
>
> **Ig ar bar uorteð iwari eð ir knevlut.**
> I have only become aware that it's difficult.

4.4 Some frequent adjectives and their antonyms

Some frequent adjectives and their antonyms are provided in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17 Some frequent adjectives and their antonyms

Elfdalian	English	Elfdalian	English
blot	'soft'	*skarp*	'hard'
guoð	'good'	*dålin*	'bad'
gåmål	'old'	*ungg / ny(r)*	'young' / 'new'
laungg	'long'	*stutt*	'short'
og	'high'	*låg*	'low'
siuok	'sick, ill'	*frisk*	'healthy'
stur	'big'	*litn*	'small'
tiokk	'thick'	*tunn*	'thin'
tungg	'heavy'	*litt*	'light'
warm	'warm'	*kold*	'cold'

4.5 Participles – derivation and use

As participles often function as adjectives in the clause and partially follow the adjective inflection, they will be introduced here.[13]

Elfdalian has two participles: the present and the past participle.

4.5.1 The present participle

The present participle is formed by adding *-end* to the root, for example, *dalska* → *dalskend, spilå* → *spilend, fya* → *fyend, truo* → *truoend, jätå* → *jätend, wårå* (with the root *war-*) → *warend*. A side form, which is less frequent, has an additional *-es* in the end, for example, *livend – livendes* 'alive'. In the independent position, the present participle may also agree with the number, for example, *Å ir livend/livendes* 'She is alive', *Dier irå livend/-er* 'They are alive'.

The use of the present participle is not very frequent in Elfdalian. It mainly has the following uses:

[13] The present participle may, similarly to English, additionally function as an adverb in the clause, albeit with the same form, e.g. *Å kam fnallendes yvyr gardn* 'She came toddling through the farm.'

1) With *wårå*, denoting a condition or state:

Ig war <u>saugend</u>.
I was hungry (lit. 'sucking').

Ig add nog koldpärur <u>standend</u> järi ienum kastrull.
I had some cold potatoes here in a pot. (lit. 'standing here in a pot').

2) With *werda*, conveying a continuous or a new action:

Og dar wart ig <u>sittjend</u> og akudir tast Swen lislgossn ennes kam iem.
And there I remained seated (lit. 'I remained sitting') and was talking until her little son Swen arrived home.

[...] so wartum <u>läender</u> ålent åv.
[...] so we started laughing without exception.

3) Adverbially with a verb, it modifies the head verb:

Göta kam <u>kåytend</u>.
Göta came running.

Karin kam <u>skramblend</u> min krukun.
Karin came rattling with the pot.

4) With the verb *wårå*, it may express what is possible or feasible:

Isser pärur irå it <u>jätend</u>.
These potatoes are not edible.

Järir eð it <u>warend</u>.
It is not possible to be here.

Aut war eð slaskut og wå'tt, so eð war int <u>goend</u> aut.
Outside it was slushy and wet, so it was not possible to go out.

5) Moreover, it is used in some fixeds or with other meanings than the verb:

Eð ir å <u>weksend</u>.
There is a new moon (lit. 'It is on growing').

4.5.2 The past participle

4.5.2.1 Derivation from weak verbs

In the third, fifth and sixth classes, a practical way to form the basic form of the past participle is by removing the *-e* from the singular form of the past tense, for example, *ärde* → *ärd* 'heard', *spuorde* → *spuord* 'asked', *bitruo'dde* > *bitruo'dd* 'entrusted, confided', respectively.

As to verbs in the irregular seventh class, those ending in *-de* in the past tense omit the *-e* in the past participle, for example, *saggde*.PST → *saggd* 'said' (for example, *eð wart saggt*.N.SG 'it was said'). Verbs whose supine[14] end in *-aið* acquire the ending in *-ai'n* in the basic form of the past participle. Their declension follows that of type 3a (see Table 4.8), with the exception of the neuter singular nominative and accusative form, which is *-aið*. Participles of this kind are, for example, *klaið*.SUP → *klai'n* 'skinned', *twaið*.SUP → *twai'n* 'washed'.[15] The verb *djärå* 'do' has the supine form *gart* and the irregular past participle form *gar* 'done' (see also Section 7.1.7). A few verbs have perfect participle with an active meaning, e.g. *an ir mitjið lesin*, lit. 'he is much read', i.e. 'he has read a lot'.

4.5.2.2 Derivation from strong verbs

The basic form of the past participle is derived in the following way from the supine form of strong verbs (which is in turn identical to the neuter singular nominative of the past participle). See also Section 7.1.8.

1) Supines ending in *-ið*:
   - When the supine ends in consonant + *-ið*, the basic masculine form acquires the suffix *-in* instead, for example, *bitið*.SUP → *bitin* 'bitten'.
   - When the supine ends in *-aið*, the basic masculine form ends in *-ai'nn* instead, for example, *gaið*.SUP → *gai'n* 'gone' (for example, *we'n ir littgai'n* 'the way is easy to go'), *slaið*.SUP → *slai'n* 'hit', *upptaið*.SUP → *upptai'n* 'occupied, busy'.[16]

[14] For the term 'supine', see Section 7.1.3.
[15] This type of part participle preserve the root form *-ai'n* throughout the declination paradigm, except the neuter singular nominative and accusative, which have *aið*.
[16] Past participles of this type are declined like the ones shown in Section 4.5.2.2.

2) Supines ending in *-eð*:
   - When the supine ends in consonant + *-eð*, the basic form of the past participle usually acquires the suffix *-in*, for example, *åpeð*.SUP → *åpin* 'helped', *nuddjeð*.SUP → *nuddjin* 'butted', *mjotjeð*.SUP → *mjotjin* 'milked'.
   - If the last root consonant is dental or alveolar, the basic masculine form acquires the suffix *-n*, for example, *bundeð*.SUP → *bundn* 'bound', *folleð*.SUP *nið* → *niðfolln* 'fallen (down)'.
   - If the last root consonant is *n*, an additional *'n* is added, for example, *spunneð*.SUP → *spunn'n* 'spun'.
   - When the supine ends in *-äeð*, the basic masculine form ends in *-ä'nn* instead, for example, *autdäeð*.SUP → *autdä'n* 'dead, extinct' (i.e. 'which died out').

5
Pronouns

This chapter accounts for Elfdalian pronouns, their forms and use.

5.1 Declension and agreement

Some Elfdalian pronouns decline like adjectives, for example, *slaik* 'such' declines like adjectives of type 1, such as *stur* 'big' (see Section 4.2.1.1). Similarly to declinable adjectives, declinable pronouns agree with the head in terms of gender, case and number, for example, *i isum tiðum* 'in these.F.DAT.PL times'.

Mixed groups of masculine and feminine nouns are rendered by the masculine plural, for example, *dier oðrär* 'the others.M.PL' and *oller* 'all M.PL' (both phrases may refer to a group of males or a mixed group of males and females).

Similarly to declinable adjectives, declinable Elfdalian pronouns may appear in so-called attributive or independent variants (for explanation of the terms, see Section 4.1). In this book, the independent variant is marked in parentheses in the various tables (see Section 4.1). Pronouns that have alternate forms unrelated to the attributive and independent variants are separated by commas (see Section 4.1).

Some pronouns may moreover alternate owing to various factors: 1) emphasis, for example, *dieras* and *dierases*, both meaning 'their', but the latter is emphatic); 2) phonological changes, for example, *an* 'he', but *saggd-n* 'he said (lit. 'said-he')', as well as *du* 'you', pronounced with [d] but *og du*, where *du* is pronounced with [ð]; 3) their role as pre- or post-modifiers (with some possessive pronouns, for example, *main kullu*.F.DAT.SG.INDEF 'my girl (or daughter)', where the possessive pronoun is

emphasised and hence used a pre-modifier, but *kullun menner*.F.DAT.SG.INDEF 'my girl (or daughter)', where the same pronoun is unemphasised, takes an alternate form and is used as a post-modifier. Notes about such alternations are provided next to the pronouns concerned. More alternate forms are provided in the sections that follow.

Some pronouns take the nouns they modify in the indefinite form, whereas others take nouns in the definite form (see Section 5.12).

5.2 Personal pronouns

5.2.1 Personal pronouns

Elfdalian personal pronouns are shown in Table 5.1. Some notes on the personal pronouns:

- As English, Elfdalian does not distinguish between familiar and polite forms of the second person. *Du* is used for 'you' in the singular, and *ið* for 'you' in the plural.
- The pronoun *an* 'he; him.ACC' often occurs as the encliticon *-n* in unstressed positions when the previous word ends in *d, ð, s, t* or in a vowel sound, for example, *ja, lit-n* 'yes, he said', *fer-n djikk fel attå fjåseð* 'for he went behind the barn', *an sluo-n* 'he hit him'.
- The forms *ån/åna* 'her.ACC', *ånum/åm* 'him.DAT', *enner/en* 'her.DAT' are interchangeable. The long forms are more commonly used emphatically. The form *ån* is the apocopated one but may also be used in the end of the sentence.

Mes <u>ig</u> war lislkull swenskeð mumun kringgt að <u>uoss</u> krippum.
When I was a little girl, Grandma often used to speak Swedish to us kids.

Nų kumb <u>ig</u> ijug at <u>ig</u> lär að narrt <u>ið</u>.
Now it came to my mind that I have probably fooled you.

<u>Du</u> al dą̊ int kum in og rust järˈ!
You should not enter and make a noise here!

<u>Dier</u> åvå fel kollt <u>an</u> so, an-dar bokkan so ir uppter að bystugun i Luoka.
That's how they called it.M.SG.ACC, that hill which is in the direction of the Luoka village cottage.

Table 5.1 Personal pronouns

Person	Personal pronouns		
	NOM	ACC	DAT
1 SG	ig	mig	
2 SG	du	dig	
3 SG.M	an, -n	an, -n	ånum, åm
3 SG.F	ą̊	ån, åna	enner, en
3 SG.N	eð	eð	dyö
1 PL	wįð	uoss	
2 PL	ið	ið	
3 PL	dier	diem	

Notes:

- Third F.ACC.SG: These forms are interchangeable at the end of the sentence.
- First NOM.PL: This pronoun also has the regional variant *wįr*.
- Second NOM.PL: This pronoun has the regional variants *įð, ir* and *įr*.

<u>Ą̊</u> fann fram ien gerd og sett sig min <u>åna</u>.
She took out knitting and occupied herself with it.F.ACC.SG.

Åv <u>enner</u> ar <u>ig</u> skuorið åv nog stjivur og gart smyör- og myssmyörgą̊s.
Of it (referring to *limpa*.F 'loaf').F.DAT.SG I have cut some slices off and made an open sandwich with butter and soft whey cheese.

<u>Eð</u> ir datirað að mitt ą̊ 1280-talj̨.
It.N.NOM.SG is dated to the middle of the 1280s (referring to *tjyörtjbaurеð*.N 'the church storehouse on pillars').

<u>Eð</u> ir įe eller istorr.
This is another story.

Ses addum gart <u>eð</u>, såtum <u>wįð</u> järog akudireðum laindj, liuotlaindj.
After we had done it, we sat here and talked for a long time, a very long time.

<u>Ig</u> war faingen <u>dyö</u>.
I was happy about it.N.DAT.SG.

Fer <u>dyö</u> wil <u>ig</u> it drag ą̊ <u>mig</u> ån siuoku.
Therefore (lit. 'for it'.N.DAT.SG), I don't want to contract that disease.

Dar råkeðum wįð ien Wåmuskull.
There we met a girl from Våmhus.

Dier åvå int mįer lat få uoss.
They have nothing more to give us (lit. 'to let us have').

Ulum spyr ið.
We are going to ask you.PL.

Jasso, avið sniųo'nn faið, ið og?
Wow, have you also got some snow? (lit. 'have you got some snow, you too?')

Dier add byggt i nog stugu niðåni tektn.
They had lived in a certain cottage in the lower part of the *tekt*.[1]

5.2.2 Personal pronouns as subject complements

Pronouns as subject complements appear in the nominative case in Elfdalian, where English would sometimes use the object form, for example, *Að ir ig* 'It is I' or 'It's me'.

5.2.3 *Að* as the formal subject

The pronoun *að* is moreover used as the formal subject, that is, a place-holder and can be rendered by English 'there'. It takes the verb in the singular, no matter the number of the real subject of the clause (see also Section 7.2.1).

Nordåtil ir að kwer berę.
Up north there are (still) some berries left.

Að såt trair småfugler upi ien eppeltrai.
There were three small birds sitting on an apple tree (lit. 'There sat three small birds on an apple tree').

5.3 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive personal pronouns differ from non-reflexive object pronouns only in the third person, in the form of the reflexive pronoun *sig* (and *senn* as a possessive pronoun, see Section 5.5). Reflexive personal pronouns occur in the accusative and dative cases, when the referent of the object

[1] The area in the summer pastures (shielings) that is fenced off.

is identical to that of the subject. For the declension of reflexive verbs, see Section 7.2.9.2.

For the possessive reflexive pronouns, see Table 5.3.

Reflexive pronouns are shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Reflexive pronouns

Person	ACC and DAT
1 SG	mig
2 SG	dig
3 SG	sig
1 PL	uoss
2 PL	ið
3 PL	sig

Ig mold i mig ien skarpbull.
I ate (lit. 'put/stuffed into myself.ACC') a piece of crispbread without butter.

Ţedier lär byddj i Lidingö og add ien lislgoss min sig.
One of them.F supposedly lives in Lidingö and had a little boy with her.ACC.

Reflexive personal pronouns are also used with reflexive verbs (see also Section 7.2.9):

Kringgið ið!
Hurry.PL up!

Gottfrið låg fel upi syðersaindjin og tuog att sig.
Gottfrið was lying on the big bed and had a good rest (lit. 'took back himself').

5.4 Possessive pronouns

Elfdalian possessive pronouns are provided in Table 5.3. Some notes on the possessive pronouns follow.

- The possessive pronouns declinable according to gender, case and number have two variants: variant 1, when the pronoun occurs *before* the head noun and variant 2, when the pronoun occurs *after* the head

noun, or independently. These two variants are presented in two separate tables (see Tables 5.3 to 5.9).[2]

- First and second person possessive pronouns agree with the head word in gender, number and case.
- Possessive pronouns occur in their variant 1 and variant 2 forms,[3] either in unmarked use, when they occur as post-modifiers, for example, *wennär mainer* 'my friends.DEF' (variant 2), in which the head appears in the definite form, or as pre-modifiers, when stressed and used emphatically, for example, *dier irå main wenner* 'they are my (and nobody else's) friends.INDEF' (variant 1), in which case the head appears in the indefinite form.
- Third person possessive pronoun *os* 'his' only occurs as an enclitic (e.g. unstressed and as a post-modifier), for example, *fåder os*, but *ånumes* 'his' can also be used as a post-modifier. Further, the long forms *enneres* 'her' and *dierases* 'their' are used emphatically, pronounced with stress and as pre-modifiers (i.e. like attributive forms), whereas the short forms *ennes* and *dieras* are used in an unmarked context, are unstressed and function as post-modifiers (see also Section 3.1.3.7).
- Nouns denoting close relatives remain in the indefinite form with the possessive pronouns, as in *mun*.F.NOM.SG.INDEF *mąi* 'my mother', with the exceptions of *kulla* 'daughter' and *påyk* 'son'. Moreover, when a close relative is implied from the context, the possessive pronoun may be omitted altogether, for example, *Fåder og fafar arbie'tt dar för i wärdn* 'Dad and grandpa used to work there in the olden days'.
- Possession in Elfdalian can also be used paraphrastically with prepositions such as *ånd,* or sometimes *um*,[4] for example, *fåder ånd mig* 'my father (lit. 'father to me')', *ånd frunder ję flugå järr ringgum ärų ånd mig* 'a fly is buzzing here around my ears (lit. 'around the ears to me')', *å bögles i kråy'sånd ånd ånum* 'she stared at his face (lit. 'in the face to him')' and *twå dig um nevå* 'wash your hands (lit. 'wash yourself around the hands')'.

[2] Note that the terms 'attributive' and 'independent' introduced in Section 4.1 are not compatible with possessive pronouns, as they occur as post-modifiers in unmarked use (e.g. *wennär mainer* 'my friends', lit. 'friends.DEF my'), differently from adjectives and other pronouns.

[3] See note 2 above.

[4] *Um* is used this sense in some expressions involving body parts.

Table 5.3 Possessive pronouns

Person	Non-reflexive	Reflexive
1 SG	menn	
2 SG	denn	
3 SG.M	ånumes, os	senn
3 SG.F	ennes, enneres	
3 SG.N	dyös	
1 PL	ǫor	
2 PL	iðär	
3 PL	dieras, dierases	senn

Note: *Dyös* is most commonly fixed idioms and compounds, such as *dyös … dyös* 'the … the', *dyöswerra* 'unfortunately (lit. 'worse than that')'.

Table 5.4 shows the declension of *menn* 'my' as a variant 1 form (that is, when used emphatically and as a pre-modifier).

Table 5.4 The declension of *menn* 'my' as variant 1 forms

<table>
<tr><th></th><th colspan="3">SG</th><th colspan="3">PL</th></tr>
<tr><th></th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td rowspan="2">menn (´)</td><td>mǫi (´)</td><td rowspan="2">mett (´)</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">main (`)</td><td rowspan="2">mainǫ</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td rowspan="2">main (`)</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>mainum</td><td>main (`)</td><td colspan="3">mainum</td></tr>
</table>

Table 5.5 shows the declension of *menn* 'my' of as a variant 2 form (that is, either as a post-modifier in unmarked sense, or in predicative use).

Table 5.5 The declension of *menn* 'my' as variant 2 forms

<table>
<tr><th></th><th colspan="3">SG</th><th colspan="3">PL</th></tr>
<tr><th></th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td rowspan="2">menn</td><td>mǫi</td><td rowspan="2">mett</td><td colspan="2">mainer</td><td rowspan="2">mainǫ</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>maina</td><td>maina</td><td>mainer</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>mainum</td><td>menner/
mener</td><td>mainu</td><td colspan="3">mainum</td></tr>
</table>

Ǫor 'our', just as *menn, denn, senn*, may occur as variant 1 forms, when used emphatically and as a pre-modifier (see Table 5.6), or as variant 2, that is, in unmarked use as a post-modifier or predicatively (see Table 5.7).

Table 5.6 The declension of *ǫor* 'our' as variant 1 forms

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">SG</td><td colspan="3">PL</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>M</td><td>F</td><td>N</td><td>M</td><td>F</td><td>N</td></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>ǫor (´)</td><td>ǫor (´)</td><td rowspan="2">ǫott (´)</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">ǫor (`)</td><td rowspan="2">ǫorǫ</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>uonn (´)</td><td rowspan="2">ǫor (`)</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>ǫorum</td><td>ǫor (`)</td><td colspan="3">ǫorum</td></tr>
</table>

Table 5.7 The declension of *ǫor* 'our' as variant 2 forms

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">SG</td><td colspan="3">PL</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>M</td><td>F</td><td>N</td><td>M</td><td>F</td><td>N</td></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>ǫor</td><td>ǫor</td><td rowspan="2">ǫott</td><td>ǫorer</td><td rowspan="2">ǫorer</td><td rowspan="2">ǫorǫ</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>uonn</td><td>ǫora</td><td>ǫora</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>ǫorum</td><td>ǫorer</td><td>ǫoru</td><td colspan="3">ǫorum</td></tr>
</table>

Iðär 'your.PL' may likewise be used as variant 1 forms when used emphatically and as a pre-modifier (see Table 5.8), or as variant 2 forms, that is, in unmarked use as a post-modifier or predicatively (see Table 5.9). Note that *iðär* and its various form are short-syllabled.

Table 5.8 The declension of *iðär* 'your.PL' as variant 1 forms

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">SG</td><td colspan="3">PL</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>M</td><td>F</td><td>N</td><td>M</td><td>F</td><td>N</td></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>iðär</td><td rowspan="2">iðǫ</td><td rowspan="2">iðåt</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">iðer</td><td rowspan="2">iðǫ</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>iðån</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>iðum</td><td colspan="2">iðer</td><td colspan="3">iðrum</td></tr>
</table>

Table 5.9 The declension of *iðär* 'your.P' as variant 2 forms

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">SG</td><td colspan="3">PL</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>M</td><td>F</td><td>N</td><td>M</td><td>F</td><td>N</td></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>iðär</td><td rowspan="2">iðǫ</td><td rowspan="2">iðåt</td><td>iðrer</td><td rowspan="2">iðrer</td><td rowspan="2">iðrǫ</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>iðån</td><td>iðer</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>iðum</td><td colspan="2">iðer</td><td colspan="3">iðrum</td></tr>
</table>

These are examples of possessive pronouns occurring as variant 2 forms (that is, as unmarked post-modifiers):

> **Sę djikk eð bję̨st nordum Elg, nordað pärlotim <u>mainum</u>.**
> Then I took a shortcut past Elg, towards my.M.DAT.SG potato field in the north.

Kelindję og syster <u>ennes</u> stulleð järˌautå gardem.
The woman and her sister strolled around the farm.

Såg du it noð järˌi by nossn, iem <u>dain</u>?[5]
Haven't you seen anything here in the village, at your home?

Puolisär add werið jųoti by og tågå gubban Forsberg og sun <u>os</u> John.
The policemen had come here to the village and took the old man Forsberg and his son John.

Ig fygd ener upað råstienem, i råðę millå fafar <u>enneres</u> iegum og <u>mainum</u>.
I accompanied her to the 'raw stone' (old border marking between lands), on the boundary line between her father's grounds and my.F.DAT.PL own.

Ig undres å um stiennur tinå, so wer menistj al dugå finn att <u>saina</u>.
I'm wondering whether the stars twinkle, so every person will be able to find his own (i.e. star).F.DAT.SG.

Ig ugser at um Inger og ienndier åv påykum <u>ųorum</u> edd si'tt sig guoðan kumå og jåp uoss liteð i morgų, so edd baureð ulad war under tak i morgų kweld.
I think that if Inger and one of our.M.DAT.SG sons had considered themselves kind (enough) to come and help us a little tomorrow, then the log cabin would have a roof (lit. 'be under roof') by tomorrow evening.

Ur gåmål ir kullą <u>iðär</u> nų?
How old is your.PL daughter now?

Lislpåytjin <u>dieras</u> ar weð å by og willd lån ien wassan knaiv.
Their little son was visiting and wanted to borrow a sharp knife.

These are examples of possessive pronouns used predicatively as variant 1 forms (that is, as emphatic pre-modifiers):

Sę al du är å an set in eð-dar i Puostsparbankų i <u>mett</u> namn.
Then you should ask him to deposit (lit. 'listen' that he deposits) it at the post saving bank on (lit. 'in') my.N.ACC.SG name (emphasising 'my').

[5] Note that *iem main(a), dain(a), sain(a)*, etc. is a fixed idiom with a locative denotation, i.e. 'in my, your, his/her/their home', etc.

Ig dugd rit main fuost tekkningg.
I was able to draw my.F.ACC.SG first drawing.

Dier byggd i wer sain jäldaus.
They lived each in their.N.DAT.SG own cooking cottage.

5.5 Demonstrative pronouns

As opposed to the variant 1 and variant 2 system applied in Section 5.4, the attributive and predicative variants of the pronouns are discerned in this section and in the rest of this chapter (see Section 4.1). Elfdalian demonstrative pronouns are shown in the box and their declensions are provided in the following tables.

- *an* 'that'
- *an-dar* 'that'
- *isn* 'this'
- *isn-jär* 'this'

Notes:
- The demonstrative pronoun *an* 'that' is always stressed (see declension in Table 5.10). In *an-dar* 'that', the stress is on *dar* (see declension in Table 5.11).
- The declensions of *isn* and *isn-jär* are provided in Table 5.12 and Table 5.13, respectively.

Table 5.10 The declension of *an* 'that'

	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	an	ą̊	eð	dier		
ACC		ån, åna		diem		
DAT	ånum	enner	dyö			

Table 5.11 The declension of *an-dar* 'that'

	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	an-dar	ą̊-dar	eð-dar	dier-dar		
ACC				diem-dar		
DAT	åm-dar	en-dar	dyö-dar			

Table 5.12 The declension of *isn* 'this'

	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	isn[6]	isų	ittað	iss(er)		isų
ACC	isan	iss(a)		iss(a)	iss(er)	
DAT	isum	iss(er)	iss(u)	isum		

Table 5.13 The declension of *isn-järˇ* 'this'

	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	isn-järˇ	isų-järˇ	ittað-järˇ	is-järˇ		isų-järˇ
ACC	isan-järˇ	is-järˇ				
DAT	isum-järˇ		is-järˇ	isum-järˇ		

<u>An</u> kalln wart swärfar að Gren dar niði Tjyörtjbymm.
That.M.NOM.SG man became Gren's father-in-law, (the one who lives) over there in Tjyörtjbynn.[7]

Pär tykkt int um Engström etter <u>ån-dar</u> affärę.
Pär didn't like Engström after that.F.SG.ACC affair.

<u>Ittað-järˇ</u> ir ien wep.
This.N.NOM.SG is a puppy.

Kluker-llma i Kallser ar saggt åv <u>issu</u>.
Kluker-Ilma in Kallser used to tell this.N.DAT.SG.

<u>Isų-järˇ</u> kwinfuotję åvå <u>is-järˇ</u> liuot grytu autfer fjåsę.
Those.N.NOM.SG women have that.F.ACC.SG damn pot outside the barn.

[6] *Isin* is an alternative form of *isn*.
[7] Tjyörtjbynn (lit. 'The chapel village'), is the central village of Övdaln.

5.6 Indefinite pronouns

Elfdalian indefinite pronouns are listed here:

- *an* 'one, you' (denoting an unspecific person) (Section 5.6.1)
- *båder* 'both' (Section 5.6.4)
- *eller* 'other' (Section 5.6.3)
- *fåer* 'a few' (Section 5.6.4)
- *flierer* 'more (with countable nouns)' (Section 5.6.5)
- *ienn* 'someone' (Section 5.6.1)
- *mitjin* 'much, many' (Section 5.6.5)
- *marg* 'much, many' (Section 5.6.5)
- *maungg* 'much, many' (Section 5.6.5)
- *nogär* 'some, a certain, a; someone, somebody' (Section 5.6.2)
- *oder* 'other; next' (Section 5.6.3)
- *odern* 'the other' (Section 5.6.3)
- *oll* 'all' (Section 5.6.6)
- *ollerijuop* 'everyone' (Section 5.6.7)
- *ollt so ir* 'whatever' (Section 5.6.8)
- *olltijuop* 'everything; everyone (pl.)' (Section 5.6.7)
- *siuov* '(one)self' (Section 5.6.2)
- *slaik* 'such' (Section 5.6.2)
- *summ* 'some' (Section 5.6.2)
- *summu* 'same' (Section 5.6.2)
- *ymsę* 'diverse things' (Section 5.6.9)
- *uonde ukin* 'anyone, whoever; whichever' (Section 5.6.10)
- *uonde wen* 'anything, whatever' (Section 5.6.11)
- *wer* 'every, each' (Section 5.6.12)
- *wer og ienn* 'everyone, each and every one' (Section 5.6.13)

5.6.1 *An* and *ienn*

The impersonal *an* 'one, you' is used as a third person singular pronoun (cf. *an* 'he') (see Table 5.14).

Table 5.14 The declension of the impersonal *an* 'one'

	SG
NOM	an
ACC	an
DAT	ånum, åm
reflexive	sig

Dar eð blås slipp an muggum og flugum.
When the wind blows, one is spared mosquitos and flies.

An får int noð wit fereld an far int far djär min dyö.
One does not acquire any savoir faire until one is no longer in need of it.

Dar inggan an spyr, so naiker indjin ånum elld.
When one doesn't ask anybody, then nobody denies anything to one.M.DAT.SG either (lit. 'when nobody one asks').

Ienn 'someone, some person' is declined like the numeral *ienn* (see Section 6.1) and is only used in the singular form.

Eð war ienn so ietteð Traver-Lass.
There was one (man) (who was) called Traver-Lass.

Å war ie so it fikk iett noð.
She was one (i.e. a woman) who wasn't allowed to be called anything.

Ienn olteð og ienn (or oðern) war dov.
One of them was limping and the other one was deaf.

Järir ie stur ie.
Here is a big one.F (with a feminine referent).

5.6.2 *Nogär, summ, siuov, slaik* and *summu*

The declension of *nogär* 'some, a certain, a; someone, somebody' is provided in Table 5.15, *summ* 'some; some person, some people' in Table 5.16. *Siuov* means 'self (myself, yourself, etc.)'. Attributively, *siuov* can also mean 'even' (see declension in Table 5.17).

Table 5.15 The declension of *nogär* 'some; someone, somebody'

	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	nogär[8]	nogų	noð	nog(rer)	nog(rer)	nogų
ACC	nån	nog(er)		nog(er)		
DAT	nogum		nog(er)	nogum		
GEN	nogumes	nogeres	–	nogumes		

[8] An alternative form is *noger*.

Ið ir fel bra ið finns <u>noger</u> so ir mennistj og biuoð til jåp <u>nogum</u> rotå.
I suppose it's good that there is someone.M.NOM.SG who is a human and attempts to help some.M.DAT.SG poor creature.

Dier skaffeð sig <u>nån</u> juordbit dar.
They got themselves a (certain, indefinite) piece of land there.

Ig ar werið upp of ferið yvyr <u>noger</u>.
I have been up keeping myself busy with something.N.DAT.SG.

Ig will åvå <u>nog</u> drupå åv mjok auti.
I want some.M.ACC.PL drops of milk inside (that is, in the coffee).

Ig beller tjyöp eller stiennur um <u>noger</u> fið att <u>nogrer</u>.
I can buy some other stars, if someone.M.NOM.SG finds any.F.ACC.PL (lit. 'some').

Table 5.16 The declension of *summ* 'some'

<table>
<tr><th></th><th colspan="3">SG</th><th colspan="3">PL</th></tr>
<tr><th></th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>summ (´)</td><td>summ (´)</td><td rowspan="2">summt (´)</td><td>summ (`), summer</td><td rowspan="2">summ (`) (summer)</td><td rowspan="2">summų</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>summan</td><td>summ (`) (summa)</td><td>summ (´) (summa)</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>summum</td><td>summ (`)</td><td>summ (´) (summu)</td><td colspan="3">summum</td></tr>
</table>

Some examples of attributive variants of *summ*:

Pär war liuotnụog min <u>summ</u> smyöri.
Pär was very careful with some of (or a part of) the butter.

Barin ir nöð fuotjeð åvå truoeð <u>summ</u> kelingger åvå apt.
The troll cat is something people thought that some women used to have.[9]

<u>Summ</u> dauvur tågå gryönertär i nebbin og slepp nið diem og go.
Some doves take some green peas in their beaks, let go of them and leave.

[9] The troll cat was the familiar of a witch in Scandinavian folklore (Swedish *bjära*).

Some examples of independent variants of *summ*:

<u>Summt</u> ar ig glemmt.
Some (of it).N.NOM.SG I have forgotten.

Yrån-gubbin kolld <u>summer</u> an og.
Some.M.NOM.PL used to call him 'old man of Yrån' as well (lit. 'Yron-old-man some used to call him too').

Table 5.17 The declension of *siuov* 'self'

	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	siuov		siuovt	siuover		
ACC			siuovt, siuov	siuova	siuover	
DAT	siuovum		siuovt	siuovum		

An example of *siuov* as an attributive variant:

<u>Siuov</u> gamkelinggär danseð.
Even the old (married) women were dancing.

Examples of *siuov* as an independent variant:

Ig will it go dait <u>siuov</u>.
I don't want to go there myself.M.SG.

Dier få skuld å sig <u>siuover</u>.
They should blame (lit. 'on') themselves.F.ACC.PL.

Jåp nogum eller og stelp sig <u>siuovum</u>.
Helping someone.M.SG.DAT else and destroying for oneself.M.SG.DAT.

Slaik 'such' is declined like adjectives of type 1a, for example, *stur* 'big' (see Section 4.2.1.1).

Examples of *slaik* as an attributive variant:

Ulld it å få luv swenska, so ir <u>slaikų</u> sturfru?
Wouldn't she have to speak Swedish, as she is such.F.NOM.SG a distinguished lady?

Og <u>slaiker</u> påstå dier åvå 'best witeð'.
And such (people).M.NOM.PL claim they have the 'best comprehension'.

Examples of *siuov* as an independent variant:

Ð tarver witeð að <u>slaiku</u>.
This requires intelligence. (lit. 'it requires intelligence for such (a thing.N.DAT.SG)').

An festuð sig å <u>slaik</u>, an.
He knew about this kind of thing.N.DAT.SG.

Summu 'the same';[10] the same thing' is indeclinable. *Eð summu* is also used in the meaning 'the same thing'.

An example of *summu* as an independent variant:

Ð djär <u>eð summu</u>.
It doesn't matter (lit. 'it makes the same thing').

Some examples of *summu* as an attributive variant:

Ð ir sos eð wär <u>summu</u> dag.
It is as if it were on the same.M.NOM.SG day.

Dar fuor ig ni'tter raisę <u>summu</u> weg ig add kumið.
There, I was going down through the wood the same.M.ACC.SG way I had come.

Ig will sją̊ oll menistjur <u>summu gaungg</u>.
I want to see all the people at the same.M.ACC.SG time.

5.6.3 *Oðer, oðern* and *eller*

Oðer (attributive, with the head noun in the definite form) 'the other; the next', for example, *ą̊ oðer saiðun* 'on the other side', *oðer da'n* 'on the next day', *oðer gaundjin* 'next time'. For the meaning '(an)other, else' the pronoun *eller* is often used (see Table 5.18).

Oðern, dan oðern 'the other' (independent variant) or *oðer* (attributive variant),[11] plus a head in the definite form, is declined as adjectives in the definite form, sometimes with the additional attribute pronoun *dan* (see Table 5.19).

[10] This pronoun has the short-syllabled regional variant pronounced ['sʉ̄mʉ].
[11] As well as in the meaning 'the next (one)', when used independently. About *dan*, see note under Table 3.4.

Table 5.18 The declension of *oðer* 'other, next' as an attributive form

	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	oðer	oðer, anų	oðer	oðer	oðrär[12]	oðrų
ACC	anan	oðer	anað			
DAT	oðrum		oðer	oðrum		

Table 5.19 The declension of *(dan) oðern* 'the other' as an independent form

	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	oðern, dan oðern	oðrą	oðrað, eð oðrað	dier oðrer	dier oðrär, oðrur	dier oðrų
ACC	oðran, dan oðran	oðrų	oðrą, dyö oðrą	diem oðer		
DAT	oðram	oðern	oðrų	diem oðrum		

Some examples of *oðer* as an attributive variant:

<u>Oðer</u> dörär, so go auti fesstöved, ar ien måler frå Ruot måłład.
The other.F.ACC.PL door, leading to the hall, a painter from Ruot has painted.

Naug äres eð að <u>oðer wegg</u>, dar kelindję ar legų, dar ig lat är ig ir til um nęter.
Of course, it can be noticed in the next room (lit. 'it is heard to the next.M.DAT.SG wall'), where my wife has her bed, when you can hear (lit. 'when I let hear') that I am alive at night (lit. 'in the nights').

<u>Oðer</u> da'n fikk ig elsningger min enner.
On the next.M.ACC.SG day I received greetings from her.

Ig såg tau rođų follber dar å <u>oðer</u> saiđun um we'n.
I saw two red raspberries there on the other.F.DAT.SG side of the road.

<u>Dier oðer</u> krippär add fel uonneð fåråå ollerijuop.
The other.M.NOM.PL kids had already left, all of them.

[12] The form *oðer* is sometimes used here too.

Some examples of *oðer* as an independent variant:

Waitkattn ar eldeð å liet i sig noð jätå og <u>oðern</u> ar int syntas til.
The white cat was in the course of searching some food for himself, and the other.M.NOM.SG one didn't appear.

An ar it <u>anað</u> djärå.
He has nothing else.N.ACC.SG to do.

Ienndier åv gubbum add då saggt að <u>oðram</u>.
One of the old guys then had told the other.M.DAT.SG.DEF one.

<u>Oðrą</u> lär war djipt min nogum Rotmann.
The second one.F.NOM.SG.DEF is supposedly married to some Rotmann.

Að far gainum iett är og aut gainum <u>oðrað</u>.
It goes in one ear and out the other.N.ACC.SG.DEF.

Eller 'other; else' is indeclinable:

Að war better eld noð mitjið <u>eller</u>.
It was better than a lot of other (things).N.NOM.SG.

5.6.4 *Båðer, fåer*

When *båðer* 'both' is combined with a head, the attributive form is most commonly used, for example, *å båð stellum* or *å båðum stellum* 'in both places'. As an independent form, usually the articles *dan, dier* and so on are used as pre-modifiers. See its declension in Table 5.20.

Table 5.20 The declension *båðer* 'both'

	PL (attributive, independent)		
	M	F	N
NOM	båð(er)	båð(er)	båðę, båðų
ACC	båð(a)		
DAT	båðum		
GEN	båðumes		

Dier <u>båder</u> såg ruogardn fråmånað.
Both.M.NOM.PL.DEF (of them) saw the fence in front of them.

Ið edd að littað laiveð að uoss <u>båðum</u> twemm.
It would have made life easy for both.M.NOM.PL of us (lit. 'for us two').

Fåer 'few, a few' usually occurs independently. Another way of expressing 'few' or 'a few' is *bar nogrer* (lit. 'only some'). See its declension in Table 5.21. *Fåer* has the comparative form *fåera* 'fewer'.

Table 5.21 The declension of *fåer* 'few, a few'

	PL		
	M	F	N
NOM	få(er)	fã(er)	fåų
ACC	få(a)		
DAT	fåum		

Dier war so <u>fåer</u>.
They were so few.M.NOM.PL.

5.6.5 *Mitjin, maungg, marg, flierer*

Mitjin 'much, many' has the synonymous pronouns *maungg/marg*. The latter occur mostly in negative clauses and are more common in older phases of LCE, for example, *ið war it maungg kwer åv sigarem* 'there was not much left of the cigar'. For the declension of *mitjin*, see Table 5.22.

All forms of *mitjin* including *tj* are short-syllabled.

Some examples of *mitjin* and *maungg* as attributive variants:

<u>mitjin</u> sniųo, <u>mitjį</u> mjok, <u>mitjið</u> fuok
a lot of snow, a lot of milk, a lot of people

Ur <u>mitj</u> ar du klukkų?
What time is it (lit. 'How much do you have the clock?', idiomatic use)?

Ið stuoð int å <u>maungg</u> minuta.
It didn't last many minutes.

Table 5.22 The declension of *mitjin* 'much'

<table>
<tr><th></th><th colspan="3">SG</th><th colspan="3">PL</th></tr>
<tr><th></th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>mitjin</td><td>mitjį</td><td rowspan="2">mitjið</td><td colspan="2">mikkel (mikkler)</td><td rowspan="2">mikklų</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>mikklan</td><td rowspan="2">mikkel</td><td>mikkel</td><td>mikkel, mikkler</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td>mikklum</td><td>mikkel</td><td colspan="3">mikklum</td></tr>
<tr><td>GEN</td><td colspan="3">–</td><td colspan="3">mikklumes</td></tr>
</table>

Notes:
- M.NOM.SG: No independent form exists.
- F.NOM.SG: No independent form exists.
- F.NOM/ACC.SG: No independent form exists.
- M.DAT.SG: No independent form exists.
- GEN.PL: Note that the genitive form can only occur independently.

Some examples of *mitjin* and *maungg* as independent variants:

> **Ið war it <u>maungger/marger</u> kwer i pannun.**
> There were not many left in the pan.
>
> **Ið war <u>mitjið</u> djärå.**
> There was a lot to do.

Flierer 'more (with countable nouns)' is the comparative form of *mitjin, maungg* 'much, many'. See its declension in Table 5.23.[13]

Table 5.23 The declension of *flierer* 'more'

<table>
<tr><th></th><th colspan="3">PL</th></tr>
<tr><th></th><th>M</th><th>F</th><th>N</th></tr>
<tr><td>NOM</td><td>flier(er)</td><td rowspan="2">flier(er)</td><td rowspan="2">flierę, flierų</td></tr>
<tr><td>ACC</td><td>flier(a)</td></tr>
<tr><td>DAT</td><td colspan="3">flierum</td></tr>
<tr><td>GEN</td><td colspan="3">flierumes</td></tr>
</table>

Notes:
- *Flierų* is more common in recent phases of LCE.
- Note that the genitive form can only occur independently.

[13] *Flierer* in the meaning 'several' is a later innovation.

An example of the attributive variant:

> **Otelleð ar flierę ruom eld motelleð.**
> The hotel has more rooms than the motel.

Some examples of the independent variant:

> **Warum mikkel påyker og kullur järr frą̊ Nesį: Eð war Oscar Larson, Ulmarais-Anna, Trapp-Pär, sę ig. Kanstji war eð war boð flierer og.**
> We were many boys and girls here from Neseð. Many of us, boys and girls from Neseð, were here: there were Oscar Larson, Ulmarais-Anna, Trapp-Pär, then myself. Maybe there were even more than that.

> **Eð kam fuotjeð. Mikkler willd els ą̊ fröken Kettisen, fru Täkt og flierer til.**
> People came by. Many wanted to visit Miss Kettisen, Mrs Täkt and some others (lit. 'some more').

5.6.6 Oll

Oll means 'all'. See the declension in Table 5.24.

Table 5.24 The declension of *oll* 'all'

	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	oll (´)	oll (´)	ollt (´), ollt	oll (`), oller	oll (`), oller	ollų
ACC	ollan	oll (`), olla		oll (`), olla		
DAT	ollum	oll (`)	ollu	ollum		
GEN	–			ollumes		

Some examples of the attributive variant:

> **An fikk sårt i kwiðim åv oll wattn.**
> He got stomach ache from all.N.DAT.SG the water.

> **Ulldum djär upp min Wåmuskullun fer addum faið byddj nest ener og fer ollt tjinnstjyr addum faið drikka.**
> We had to settle up with the girl from Våmhus for letting us stay with her and for all.N.ACC.SG the buttermilk she let us have (lit. 'that we could drink').

”Ukað åvå dier tjynär å ollum gardum iemi bymm?” – spuord å etter. ‘Ja, oller autå lärinną i småskaulam.’ – suoräd Ieðwig.
‘Do they have cows in all.M.DAT.PL farms here in the village?’ she asked. ‘Yes, all.M.NOM.PL (of them) besides the teacher in the junior school,’ Ieðwig answered.

Some examples of the independent variant:

Ig wet då it ig ur an al dugå arbiet og ụogås oll an ar.
I don’t know how one should manage to work and to take care of everything.N.DAT.SG one has.

Ed ir oller so åvå ien wenn.
Everyone.M.NOM.PL (lit. ‘it is all who’) has a friend.

Du werd mụosk og biravin og dug mjäst ollt du byöver.
You will become plucky and clever and capable of doing almost all.N.ACC.SG that you need to.

In some expressions, *oll* is used in the old plural partitive genitive form (< ON *allra*) meaning ‘of all’, or functioning as an intensifier. In this function, *oll* has a grave accent, for example, *oll best* ‘best of all’, *oll fuost* ‘first of all’, *oll sienest* ‘last of all; the very last one’.

5.6.7 *Olltijuop, ollerijuop*

Olltijuop means ‘everything.SG’; and *ollerijuop* means ‘everyone.PL’. See Table 5.25 for its declension.

Table 5.25 The declension of *olltijuop* ‘everything; everyone’

	SG	PL		
	N	M	F	N
NOM	olltijuop	ollerijuop	ollerijuop	ollụijuop
ACC		ollijuop		
DAT	ollijuop	ollumijuop		

Ed wart ryörą åv ollijuop.
It all got messed up (lit. ‘it became a mess of everything.N.DAT.SG’).

Dier oder krippär add fel uonned fårå ollerijuop.
The other children had already left by then (lit. ‘managed to leave’), all.M.NOM.PL of them.

5.6.8 *Ollt so ir*

Ollt so ir 'whatever, anything, all kind of things' only occurs in the neuter singular and is declined like *oll* (see Table 5.24).

> **An sir <u>ollt so ir</u> järå Juordn.**
> He sees anything (all possible things) here on Earth.
>
> **Jåpum weroðrum min <u>oll so ir</u>.**
> We're helping each other with anything.N.DAT.SG.

5.6.9 *Ymsę*

Ymsę means 'diverse things'.[14] See its declension in Table 5.26.

Ymsę lacks forms in the masculine, feminine and neutral singular, nominative and accusative. In the neuter singular dative, it also means 'diverse things', for example, *Ig knupär min ymsu.* 'I am dealing with different things'.

Table 5.26 The declension of *ymsę* 'diverse things'

	SG	PL		
	N	M	F	N
NOM	-	yms(er)	yms(er)	ymsę, ymsų
ACC	-	yms(a)	yms(er)	
DAT	ymsu	ymsum		
EN	-	ymsumes		

Note:

- *Ymsų* is a newer form in LCE which emerged in analogy to many other pronouns ending in *-ų* in the nominative/accusative plural.

> **Irum warken sokkinpamper eld skaulmęsterer og <u>yms</u> eller ärrgubber.**
> We are neither influential men in the parish, nor schoolteachers. Neither do we belong to other diverse types of distinguished men.

[14] The basic form *ymser* appears to be dated in the LCE. The form *ymsę* N.PL has the collective denotation 'diverse things' and is the most frequently used form. Hence, it is indicated here as the basic form.

Åv dyö kam eð <u>yms</u> fundiringger åv åm fram og fram.
This way, different (types of) reflections came out of him little by little.

Kalln og kelindję knupå min <u>ymsu</u>.
The man and his wife (lit. 'the wife') are engaged with different things.

Sę beddeð å legų að mig og noð <u>ymsę</u>.
Then she made the bed for me and did some other (diverse) things.

5.6.10 *Uonde ukin*

Uonde ukin 'anyone, whoever; whichever; no matter who/which/what' is declined as *ukin* (see Section 5.11.3). *Uonde ukað*.N.NOM.SG 'whatever' can also be expressed by *uonde wen*.

Eð ir įe siuok so drabber <u>uonde ukan</u>.
It is a disease that can affect anyone.M.ACC.SG.

5.6.11 *Uonde wen*

Uonde wen means 'whichever, whatever; whoever' and is usually indeclinable, like *wen* (see Section 5.11.1).

Kelindję war mųot kallem <u>uonde wen</u> an kam min.
The woman was critical towards (lit. 'against') the man, no matter what he was saying (or suggesting, lit. 'was coming with').

An ir better eld yms eller Neskaller, so bar luvå aut <u>uonde wen</u>.
He is better than other men from Neseð who just promise no matter what.

5.6.12 *Wer*

Wer means ‘every, each’. See its declension in Table 5.27.

Table 5.27 The declension of *wer* ‘every, each’

	SG		
	M	F	N
NOM	wer (´)	wer (´)	wert (´)
ACC	wenn (´)	werr (`)	
DAT	werrum (`-)	werr (`)	

Ig ar triụo wulkan so ig suoter werr wiku.
I have three volcanoes to sweep (lit. ‘that I sweep’) every.F.ACC.SG week.

An bitald ien femmu fer wert bidrag.
He paid five crowns for every.N.ACC.SG contribution.

Planietn snurrer straiðera wert år.
The planet rotates quicker every.N.ACC.SG year.

5.6.13 *Wer og ienn*

Wer og ienn means ‘everyone, each and every one’. See its declension in Table 5.28.

Table 5.28 The declension of *wer og ienn* ‘everyone, each and every one’

	M	F	N
NOM	wer og ienn	wer og ịe	wert og iett
ACC		wer og iena	
DAT	werrum og ienum	wer og ienner	werr og ienu

Min werrum og ienum al an bidjär eð an dug djärå.
From each and every person.M.DAT.SG one should require what they can do.

5.7 Distributive pronouns

Distributive pronouns are provided in the box.

- *ienndier* 'one (of several)' (Section 5.7.2)
- *indjindier* 'none (of several)' (Section 5.7.6)
- *nod åv noger* 'something small' (Section 5.7.3)
- *nogär eld oder* 'one or another' (Section 5.7.1)
- *nogärdier* 'some, someone (of several)' (Section 5.7.1)
- *ukindier* 'which one' (of several) (Section 5.7.5)
- *wersenn* 'each his/hers/theirs' (Section 5.7.4)
- *wårsenn* 'each his/hers/theirs (each of two persons, i.e. dual form)' (Section 5.7.4)

5.7.1 *Nogar eld oder*

Nogär eld oder 'some, someone (lit. 'one or another')' consists of *nogär*, which declines as the pronoun *nogär* (see Section 5.6.2) and an indeclinable *oder* (see Section 5.6.2). It may occur independently or attributively.

> **Wildum fel umstad sjå etter nog ungg snogg kwinnfuok og sjå etter, um ed war <u>nogu eld oder</u>, so edd ad wed nödun, sos dier irå milumad.**
> We wanted to look for some young, good-looking women and check if there was anyone.F.NOM.SG who would be randy (or in need), as they are sometimes.
>
> **Ir ed sę-nt <u>nogär eld oder</u> so ar selt sig min ull og år ad buolagum?**
> Hasn't someone.M.SG.NOM (i.e. one or another) sold himself entirely to the corporation?
>
> **Ig saggd fel åv <u>nog</u> istorr <u>eld oder</u>, so wartum läender ålent åv.**
> I told some.F.ACC.SG story, so each and every one of us began to laugh.

Further note:

- *Nogärdier, nogerdier* 'some; someone (of several)' is declined like *nogär* (see Section 5.6.2).

Ig al är å um <u>nogärdier</u> åv unggärrum wil jåp mig.
I will ask (lit. 'listen') if any one.M.NOM.SG of the young gentlemen wants to help me.

5.7.2 *Ienndier*

The first part of *ienndier* 'one (of several)', that is, *ienn*, is declined like *ienn* 'one':

<u>Ienndier</u> åv gubbum add då saggt að oðram.
One.M.NOM.SG of the old guys then had told the other one.

5.7.3 *Nað åv noger*

Nað åv noger (lit. 'something of something') 'something small' is only used in the neutral singular, and *nað* is declined as the indefinite pronoun *nað* (see Section 5.6.2).

Sę ar ig werið upi Konsum min kuortlietjin og andel <u>nað åv noger</u>.
Later, I went to (lit. 'have been up at') Konsum with a pack of cards (lit. 'card game') and bought something.N.ACC.SG small.

5.7.4 *Wersenn, wårsenn*

The distributive possessive pronouns *wersenn* 'each his/hers/theirs' and *wårsenn* 'each his/hers/theirs (each of two persons, i.e. dual form)', are declined like *menn* (See Table 5.5) and occur before the head.

Djietär add <u>wersenn</u> tjilingg.
The goats had one.M.ACC.SG kid each (i.e. referring to more than two goats).

Spilið <u>wårsenn</u> bit.
Play (addressing two persons) one.M.ACC.SG song each.

5.7.5 *Ukindier*

Ukindier means 'which one (of several)'. For the declension, see Table 5.29.

Table 5.29 The declension of *ukindier* 'which one (of two)'

	SG		
	M	F	N
NOM	ukindier	ukụdier	ukaðdier
ACC	ukandier	ukkdier	
DAT	ukum		ukkdier

Ig wiss it <u>ukandier</u> we'n ig ulld go.
I didn't know which (of several).M.ACC.SG ways I should take (lit. 'walk').

5.7.6 *Indjindier*

The first part of *indjindier* 'none (of several)', *indjin*, declines like *indjin* (see Table 5.30).

The pronunciation of *d* in *inggụdier* and *inggerdier* is *ð*, according to the phonological rule.

Indjindier may occur attributively:

<u>Inggerdieres</u> kall kam.
None of their.F.NOM.PL husbands (lit. 'husband') arrived.

It may also occur independently:

Ð fanns twer stuoler. <u>Inggandier</u> tuog ig.
There were two chairs. I took none.M.ACC.SG of them.

5.8 Negative pronouns

The negative pronoun *indjin* means 'none, no' when used attributively, and 'no one, nobody; nothing' when used independently. As shown in Table 5.30, the simplex pronoun *indjin* has the complex form *int/it nod* (< *inte/it* + *nod* lit 'not + any') in the singular nominative neutral form. The other, simplex, forms may take a complex form, either in the form *int/it nogär* (lit. 'not any') (or, with other negative words, such as 'without' + *nån*, etc.) or with multiple negation in the form of *inte/it* + *indjin* (lit. 'not none').[15]

[15] For the declension of *nogär*, see Table 5.15.

Table 5.30 The declension of *indjin* 'no, none; no one, nobody'

	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	indjin	inggų	int noð, it noð	ingg(er)	ingg(er)	inggų
ACC	inggan	ingg(er)		ingg(a)		
DAT	inggum	ingg	ingg(u)	inggum		
GEN	inggumes	inggeres	-	inggumes		

Examples of *indjin* as an attributive pronoun:

Amm fel <u>it</u> <u>older</u> apt <u>inggan</u> båråå, wįð <u>itjä</u>.
As to us, we have never had a *bari* ('troll cat') (lit. 'We have not never had no *bari*, we not') (multiple negation).

Ig wart dåį <u>it</u> iwari <u>inggum</u> katt, itjä.
I didn't notice (lit. 'was not aware of') any.M.DAT.SG cat (multiple negation).

Ið wart <u>it</u> yvyrað <u>nogų</u> tårta.
There was no cake left (lit. 'not left any.F.NOM.SG cake').

Ið fanns <u>inggų</u> lampol idag.
There was no.F.NOM.SG lamp oil today.

Ig add <u>ingg</u> kelingg dåį.
'I had no.F.ACC.SG wife back then.'

Kattwastjin ulld old sig warman <u>autåį</u> <u>nog</u> saingg.
The poor cat had to keep himself warm without any.F.ACC.SG bed.

Examples of *indjin* as an independent pronoun:

I enner stugun willd <u>indjin</u> byddja.
In that house nobody.M.NOM.SG wished to live.

Ig al dåį <u>it</u> sai <u>noð</u> að <u>inggum</u>.
I won't tell anything.N.NOM.SG to anybody.M.DAT.SG./PL (multiple negation).

Ið war fel <u>it</u> að <u>ingg</u> baið eter åm-dar.
It was useless (lit. 'not to anything.N.DAT.SG') waiting for that one (i.e. man) (multiple negation).

5.9 The reciprocal pronoun

The pronoun *weroðer* means 'each other (reciprocal function); every two'. For its declension, see Table 5.31.

Table 5.31 The declension of *weroðer* 'each other'

	SG
NOM	weroðer
ACC	wenanan
DAT	weroðrum
GEN	weroðrumes

Klapp nevum mụot weroðrum, fuorkeð ögferdugkalln an.
Clap your hands (lit. 'against each other.M.DAT.PL'), the arrogant man urged him.

Dier djipteð um sig min weroðrumes kelinggum.
They remarried (lit. 'with') each others' M.GEN.PL wives.

5.10 The relative pronoun

The relative pronoun *so* 'which; who' is indeclinable, and is often omitted when it is the object of the subordinate clause.

Examples with *so*:

Eð ir noger so ar selt sig að firmum.
There is someone who sold himself to the companies.

An tuog fram ien lausårsmakk so war mjäst ien åvaln laungg.
He took out a worm that was almost half an ell long.[16]

Examples of the omission of *so*:

War ulum wịð wåra iss-jär stjyörụ amme?
Where shall we be (during) this moment that we have?

Ig lär fą disk eð ir ar.
I guess I should dishwash what (lit. 'that') I have.

[16] This refers to an unknown type of worm.

5.11 Interrogative pronouns

In the box, interrogative pronouns are provided.

- *wen* 'what' (Section 5.11.1)
- *wer* 'who; what' (Section 5.11.1)
- *wen fer (ien(n))* 'what kind of, which' (Section 5.11.2)
- *wår* 'which one (of two)' (Section 5.11.1)
- *ukin* 'who; which; what sort of' (Section 5.11.3)

5.11.1 *Wer, wår* and *wen*

The pronoun *wer* meant 'who' in the masculine and feminine, and 'what' in the neuter in older stages of LCE. In the meaning 'who', it was later replaced by *ukin* 'who; which' (see Section 5.11.3) and in the meaning 'what', it was later replaced by *wen.* The pronoun *wår* means 'which one of two'. The pronoun 'what' as a part of a preposition phrase is usually expressed by *ukað* (neuter form of *ukin*), for example, *að ukku* (see below).

For the declension of *wer*, see Table 5.32.

Table 5.32 The declension of *wer* 'what'

	SG		
	M	F	N
NOM	wer		wen
ACC	–		wen
DAT	werrum		werru
GEN	werrumes		–

<u>Wen</u> ulld å dar?
What.N.ACC.SG was she (to do) there?

Dier wil av rieð å <u>wen</u> ig djär.
They want to find out what.N.ACC.SG I'm doing.

<u>Werrum</u> fygd du?
Whom.M.DAT.SG/PL did you follow?

The interrogative pronoun *wår* means 'which one (of two)'.

5.11.2 *Wen fer (ien(n))*

Wen fer (ienn) 'What kind of, which' is conjugated in an independent position as the numeral *ienn* 'one' (see Section 6.1) in the singular and *wen fer nogrer* 'some' (see Section 5.7) in the plural. When used attributively, the singular form *wen fer ien* is conjugated as the article *ien* (see Section 3.1.2) and the plural as the attributive form of the pronoun *nogrer*, that is, *nog* (see Section 5.6.2).

Ulåv willd witå <u>wen</u> ið war <u>fer ien</u> kall so ulld kumå.
Ulåv wanted to know what kind of man was supposed to arrive (lit. 'come').

<u>Wen</u> ar du <u>fer</u> tilifuonnumber?
What is your phone number?

5.11.3 *Ukin*

Ukin means 'who; which; what; what sort of'. See its declension in Table 5.33.

Table 5.33 The declension of *ukin* 'who; which; what; what sort of'

	SG			PL		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
NOM	ukin	ukų	ukað	ukk(er)		ukkų
ACC	ukan	ukk(a)		ukk(a)	ukk(er)	
DAT	ukum	ukk(er)	ukk(u)	ukkum		
GEN	ukumes	ukkeres	–	ukkumes		

<u>Ukin</u> war ið?
Who.M.NOM.SG was it?

<u>Ukan</u> må ig ul skulda?
Whom.M.SG.ACC, I am wondering, should I blame?

Men ųa, <u>ukin</u> wask!
Oh, what.M.NOM.SG a poor thing.

<u>Ukų</u> ųodåg!
What.F.NOM.SG a waster; good-for-nothing!

An lär just it witå auti <u>ukk</u> an fuor.
He most probably didn't know what.N.DAT.SG he was talking about (lit. 'in what he was walking').

An dug it sjå åv <u>ukk</u> eð-dar auseð ir gart.
One cannot see what.N.DAT.SG (full form: *ukku*) that house is made of.

Ig wet då rakt int <u>að ukk</u> eð ir painas järi wärdn.
I don't know at all what.N.DAT.SG (full form: *ukku*) one should be tormented (lit. 'it is to be tormented') for in this world (lit. 'here in the world').

<u>Ukin</u> ir erin i ferg?
Of what colour is the hare (lit. 'Which.M.NOM.SG is the hare in colour')?

5.12 Pronouns and definiteness

Head nouns modified by pronouns can either be in the indefinite or the definite form, depending on the pronoun.

The following pronouns take head nouns in the indefinite form: *flier(er)* 'more (of countable nouns)', *eller* 'other', *fåer* 'few', *indjin* 'not any', *menn* 'my' (as well as other possessive pronouns acting as pre-modifiers), *maungg* 'much, many', *marg* 'much, many', *mitjin* 'much, many', *nogär* 'some', *oll* 'all', *slaik* 'such', *summ* 'some', *ukin* 'which; what; what type of', *wen fer ien* 'what kind of', *wer* 'every', *wer og ien* 'each and every' and *ymsę* 'diverse'.

<u>Ukų stölla</u>!
What a craze.INDEF!

Ð lär nų int war <u>inggų</u> livendes råð.
There doesn't seem to anything.F.NOM.SG ('living') to do about it.

Nų farum wįð it få min uoss <u>oll</u> krippą dar ulum nån weg.
Now we are beginning to travel without all.M.PL.ACC our children. INDEF (lit. 'we begin not to have with us all the children') when we go somewhere.

sårt i kwiðim åv <u>oll</u> wattn.
stomach ache from all the water.INDEF.

The following pronouns take nouns in the definite form: *an* 'that', *an-dar* 'that', båð(er) 'both', *iendier* 'one (of several)', *indjindier* 'no, none, not any', *isn* 'this', *isn-jär* 'this', *menn* 'my' (as well as other possessive

pronouns acting as post-modifiers), *oðer* 'other; next', *siuov* 'oneself' and *ukindier* 'which (of several)'.

Kennes du wið <u>an påytjin</u>?
Do you know that boy.DEF?

Byddjum fel i <u>isum-järˈ dalim</u>.
We live in this.M.DAT.SG valley.DEF.

<u>Namneð mett</u> ir Emma. Ukað ir <u>dett (nammen)</u>?
My name.DEF is Emma. What is your name.INDEF?

5.13 Phonology of pronouns

Note that pronouns with an initial *d* undergo a sandhi if the preceding word ends in a vowel sound, causing the *d* to be pronounced as [ð], as in *i dyö* [i ˈðýːœ̯] *'in it', truor du?* [trúːə̯ ðúː] *'do you think/believe?'* (see also Section 2.5.7).

6
Numerals

This chapter accounts for the cardinal and ordinal numerals, as well as for expressions for fractions and time.

Note that Elfdalian has two parallel systems for the cardinal numerals from two to four, one traditional Elfdalian and one borrowed from Swedish and adapted to Elfdalian.

6.1 Cardinal numerals from one to four

The traditional Elfdalian cardinal numerals one to four are declined by gender and case. For the declensions, see Tables 6.1 to 6.4.

The neuter form *iett* 'one' is used for counting, expressing time, phone numbers and so on. The unmarked forms of the numerals two to four in the traditional Elfdalian system are rendered by the declinable masculine numerals. However, when counting without a head noun, expressing time or phone numbers, the adapted indeclinable Swedish-based forms are most commonly used, that is, *twå* 'two', *tri* 'three' and *fyra* 'four'.

The traditional Elfdalian numerals are often used when modifying nouns, for example, *twär kullur* 'two.F. girls', *trair påyker* 'three.M. boys', *tråy trai* 'three.N. trees' and *dier war twär* 'they were two.F.'. Similarly, they can be used when making part of larger numerals, for example, *trettitwer* '32.M.', *trettitwär* '32.F.', *trettitau* '32.N.'. When counting hundreds, thousands, millions and billions, the indeclinable forms are often used, for example, *twå undrað* '200', *tri tusn* '3,000' and so on.

When counting a group of mixed genders, the masculine form applies, for example, *warum wi̧ð twer* 'there were the two.M.PL of us' (lit. 'we were there we two').

Table 6.1 The declension of *ienn* 'one'

	M	F	N
NOM	ienn	ịe	iett
ACC		iena	
DAT	ienum	ienner (ienn (`))	ienu

Note: For *ienner* (*ienn* (`)), the first form is the independent one, and the second one is the attributive one (see also Section 4.1).

Table 6.2 The declension of *twer* 'two'

	M	F	N
NOM	twer	twär	tau
ACC	tụo		
DAT	twemm		

Table 6.3 The declension of *trair* 'three'

	M	F	N
NOM	trair	trjär	tråy
ACC	triụo		
DAT	trimm		

Table 6.4 The declension of *fiuorer* 'four'

	M	F	N
NOM	fiuorer	fiuorer	fiuorę, fiuorụ
ACC	fiuora		
DAT	fiuorum		

Note: *Fiuorụ* is a newer form, analogical to adjectives and pronouns ending in *-ụ* in the neuter plural.

6.2 Cardinal and ordinal numerals

Table 6.5 shows cardinal and ordinal numerals in Elfdalian. Traditional Elfdalian numerals for 2 to 4, as well as such ending in these numerals (22 etc.), are shown before the semicolon, and their Swedish-based equivalents after the semicolon. When declinable, the masculine, feminine and neuter forms of the nominative are shown, respectively.

Table 6.5 Cardinal and ordinal numerals

Numeral	Cardinal (m., f., n.; Swedish-based)	Ordinal
1	ienn, į̨e, iett	fuost
2	twer, twär, tau; twå	oðer
3	trair, trjär, tråy; tri	trið
4	fiuorer, fiuorę; fyra	fiuord
5	fem	femt
6	sjäks	sjäkst
7	sju	sjuund
8	åtta	åttund
9	niu	niund
10	tiu	tiund
11	ellåv	ellåpt
12	tolv	tolpt
13	trettą̊	trettund
14	fiuortą̊	fiuortund
15	femtą̊	femtund
16	sjäkstą̊	sjäkstund
17	sjuttią̊	sjuttiund
18	åttią̊	åttiund
19	nittią̊	nittiund
20	tiugu	tiugund
21	tiuguienn, -į̨e, -iett	tiugufuost
22	tiugutwer, -twär, -tau; tiugutwå	tiuguoðer
23	tiugutrair, -trjär, -tråy; tiugutri	tiugutrið
24	tiugufiuorer, -fiuorų; tiugufyra;	tiugufiuord
25	tiugufem	tiugufemt
30	tretti	trettijund
40	fyrti	fyrtijund
50	femti	femtijund
60	sjäksti	sjäkstijund
70	sjutti	sjuttijund
80	åtti	åttijund
90	nitti	nittijund
100	(iet) undrað	–
101	undraðienn, -į̨e, -iett	–
102	undraðtwer, -twär, -tau; undraðtwå	–

Table 6.5 (continued)

Numeral	Cardinal (m., f., n.; Swedish-based)	Ordinal
103	undraðtrair, -trjär, -tråy; undraðtri	–
104	undraðfiuorer, -fiuorę; undraðfyra	–
105	undraðfem	–
200	twå undrað	–
300	tri undrað	–
400	fyr undrað	–
500	fem undrað	–
600	sjäks undrað	–
700	sju undrað	–
800	åtta undrað	–
900	ni undrað	–
1000	(iet) tusn	–
2418	tau tusn fyr undrað åttią	–
million	(ien) miliuon	–
billion	(ien) miliard	–

6.2.1 Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals including ones and tens may also be expressed starting with the ones, for example, *ienogtiugu* '21.M.', *twärogfemti* '52.F.'. However, the system starting with the tens has long been the most common one.[1]

The numerals *undrað* '100' and *tusn* '1,000' are neuters and can be used in expressions such as *mikklų undrað, tusn* 'many hundreds, thousands.'

The numerals *miliuon* and *miliard* are declined like masculine nouns, so *twå miliuoner* is thus the form for 'two million.PL', and *Wen al du fem miliuonum?* means 'What will you do with five million.DAT.PL?'.

Some examples of cardinal numerals:

Ig sov middag <u>tų̨o</u> taim upå smiðwindem.
I took a nap (lit. 'slept midday') for two.M.ACC hours in the smith attic.

[1] For example, the system starting with the tens is the only one used in Frost Anders' diary (Andersson et al. 2017).

Ą̊ edd að mient upi Tjyörtjbynn min tau kaninstjinn, so åvå laið dar minst femtą̊ år.
She planned to go to Tjyörtjbynn with two.N.ACC rabbit skins, which have been there for at least fifteen years.

Ið edd að littað laiveð að uoss båðum twemm.
It would have made life easy for both of us.M.DAT.

Amm trettitųo skaulkripp järi bymm nų.
We have thirty-two.M.ACC schoolchildren in the village now.

Fer sjuttitri år sę lär ig fel war autsett og fundirsam ur ig ulld tågå mig jųot i iss-järi syndug wärdę.
Seventy-three years ago,[2] I was obviously worried and thoughtful as to how I would manage to enter into this sinful world.

Og wen al du femundrað miliuonum åv stiennum?
And what will you do with 500 million.DAT.PL (lit. 'of') stars?

6.2.2 Ordinal numerals

The ordinal numerals from the 17th to the 19th sound very similar to the 70th, 80th and 90th, respectively. The difference is that the former contain /j/ as a part of the syllable, whereas the latter contain /i/ as a separate syllable, for example, *åttiund* [ˈɔtːjʉnd] (disyllabic) 'eighteenth' and *åttijund* [ˈɔtːiʉnd] (trisyllabic) 'eightieth'.[3]

Ordinal numerals in Elfdalian are only attested up to 99. From 100 onwards, they are usually expressed paraphrastically, for example, *An so wart nummer undrað* 'The one who became number 100'.

The ordinal numerals act as adjectives with nouns in the definite form, thus indeclinable and forming single morphosyntactic units (cf. *nybiln* 'the new car' and *sturkattn* 'the big cat', see Chapter 4). The ordinal number with a head can be spelt as one word or two separate words, for example, *fuost da'n* or *fuostda'n* 'the first day', *ellåpt taimin* or *ellåpt-taimin* 'the 11th hour'.

Just like adjectives, the ordinal numerals may also occur independently in the definite form. Note that ordinal numerals occurring independently follow the declension of the *weak* nouns, for example, *fuostn*

[2] The indeclinable form *sjuttitri* is used here.
[3] Since <tj> renders the phoneme /t͡ɕ/, the combinations <ti> and <tij>, respectively, are used to render the distinct pronunciation of these numeral pairs.

'the first one.M' (*fuostan* M.ACC.SG, etc.), *fuostą* 'the first one.F', *fuostað* 'the first thing.N'.

Martin wart då <u>fuost</u> må'n, an.
Martin was the first son-in-law.

<u>Fiuord</u> planietn ärd afärsmannem til.
The fourth planet belonged to the businessman.

Nų war eð <u>åttund</u> da'n ses ig add nöðlandað auti öken.
Now it was the eighth day since I emergency landed in the desert.

Ig tjyöpt trįuo banana. Påytjin fikk <u>fuostan</u>, Mia <u>oðran</u> og sę kullą <u>triðan</u>.
I bought three bananas. The boy got the first one, Mia the second one and then the girl (got) the third one.

To express 'every two, every three' + noun, *wer* 'every' is combined with the cardinal numeral, for example, *weroðer* 'every two' (for the declension, see Section 5.9), *wer trið* 'every three' and so on.

Knut djikk i skaulam <u>wenanan</u> dag.
Knut went to school every two days.

Ulum tågå <u>wen trið</u> toll.
We will take one in every three pine trees.

6.2.3 Cardinal numerals used as nouns

Cardinal numerals have independent forms ending in *-a*, turning them into feminine nouns, definite or indefinite, denoting coins or money bills, school grades, positions in a race, bus numbers and so on, for example:

Ig edd bellt åvå <u>femmur</u> og <u>tiur</u> og undraðlappą og tusnsailą.
I could have had (bills of) fives and tens and hundred (crown) bills and thousand (crown) bills.

Kullą djikk i <u>triun</u>.
She attended the third grade.

6.3 Fractions

Most fractions are formed by combining the ordinal numerals with *diel* 'part' into compounds, for example, *ien triðdiel* 'a third', *ien fiuorddiel* 'a quarter' and so on. If the ordinal number already ends in *-nd,* only *-iel* is added to it, for example, *niund* > *niundiel* 'ninth', *tiund* > *tiundiel* 'tenth'.

Sometimes, the word *diel* may be omitted, for example, *iet fiuordsår* (including a genitive *-s*) 'a quarter of a year', *ję tiund* 'a tenth'.

'Half' is expressed in different ways in Elfdalian. Independently as a noun, *åpt* (m./f.) or *elpt* (f.) are used. In attributive positions, *åv* acts like an adjective, or in the form *åv-* as the first part of a compound. When telling the time, the adapted Swedish form *alv* is used (see also Section 6.5).

Some fractions are shown in the box.

•	½	elpt (m.), åpt (m./f.); åv
•	⅓	triðungg (m.), triðdiel (m.)
•	⅔	twer triðungger (m.), twer triðdieler (m.)
•	¼	fiuordungg (m.), fiuorddiel (m.)
•	⅕	femtdiel (m.)
•	⅛	åttungg (m.), åttundiel (m.)
•	1.5	ienn og ien åv; åvoðer (see Table 6.6)
•	half an hour	ien åvtaim

Table 6.6 The declension of *åvoðer* 'one and a half'

	M	F	N
NOM	åvoðer	åvoðer	åvanað
ACC	åvanan		
DAT	–		–

ien <u>triðdiel</u> åv fuotję
a third of the people

Ig ar faið pensiuon – tiugu kruonur og ti öre fer iet <u>fiuords</u>år.
I got a pension – twenty crowns and ten öre for a quarter of a year.

Dier åvå brukað baureð tä fewåvå säðs<u>tiundę</u> ini, an dieln åv <u>tiundn</u> so war säðskuonneð.
They have used the storehouse to preserve the tithe inside, that part of the tenth that was the grain.

Ig uorkeð int elptn.
I didn't manage (to eat) the half.DAT.

Å iemteð ien åvan lok.
She brought half.M.ACC.SG an onion.

Nų ar klukką slaið alvåtta.
Now, the clock has struck half past seven.

Ig lär fel að sovið ienn og ien åvan taima.
I have probably slept for an hour and a half.M.ACC.SG.

6.4 Duplication

To denote 'double, twofold', 'triple' *twifold* and *trifold* are used, respectively. Moreover, the prefixes *twi-* and *tri-* are used, respectively, for example, *twijågd* (lit. 'double weekend') 'a long weekend', *twikoppas* (lit. 'double compete') 'to compete', *twiäringg* (lit. 'double-oaring') 'rowing boat with two oars', *triäringg* (lit. 'triple-oaring') 'rowing boat with three oars' and *trifuot* 'tripod'.

6.5 Telling time

6.5.1 Telling the hour

To ask about the time, the expressions *Ur mitjið ir klukką?* 'What time is it?' (lit. 'How much is the clock?') or *Ur mitj(ið) ar du klukkų?* (lit. 'How much is your time?') are used. The answer is *Klukką ir* .... 'It is ...' (lit. 'The clock is') or *Å ir...* (lit. 'She is...').

To ask 'At what time?', the expressions *Når?* or *Ur snąrt?* are used.

In informal speech, the 12-hour system is used. Sometimes, parts of the days may be added for clarification: '(At) One o'clock' is rendered by *(klukką) iett* or *i ietttiðn.* For the other hours, the adapted Swedish numerals are used – *twå* 'two', *tri* 'three' and *fyra* 'four'.

'Past' is rendered by *yvyr* and 'to' by *i*, for example, *fem yvyr twå* 'five past two', *kwart i tolv* 'quarter to twelve'.

'Quarter' is rendered by *kwart* and 'half' is rendered by *alv*. 'Half past' is rendered by *alv* + the next hour, for example, *alvtri* 'half past two.

'Five to' and 'five past' the half are often used with reference to the half hour, for example, *fem i alvtri* 'four twenty-five', and *fem yvyr alvtri*

‘four thirty-five’. Minutes before the hour may also be expressed by *eð fätäs … i…* (lit. ‘… minutes are missing to …’), for example, *Eð fätäs fem minut i niu.* ‘Five to nine’.

In formal speech, the minutes may be conveyed by numbers rather than fractions, for example, ‘10.50’ is expressed by *ti femti* (lit. ‘ten fifty’) or *ti og femti* (lit. ‘ten and fifty’). Likewise, the 24-hour based system is used in formal contexts.

Some examples are shown in the box.

•	10.05	fem yvyr tiu
•	10.15	kwart yvyr tiu
•	10.25	fem i alvellåv, eð fätäs fem minut i alvellåv
•	10.30	alvellåv
•	10.35	fem yvyr alvellåv
•	10.45	kwart i ellåv
•	11.00	ellåv
•	23.15	tiugutri femtą̊, tiugutri og femtą̊

Eð werd nossn framter að <u>tiugu i ått</u> i kweld.
That will be sometime towards twenty to eight tonight.

6.5.2 Decades, centuries and millennia

Decades and centuries are expressed by the word *tal*, for example, *1970-taleð* ‘the 1970s’ or *sjuttitaleð* ‘the ’70s’, *1900-taleð* ‘the 1900s’ and *2000-taleð* ‘the 2000s’. To express an event in a certain decade, century or millennium, *ą̊* + *talı̨*.DAT.SG.DEF are used.

Tjyörtjbaureð ir datirað að mitt <u>ą̊ 1280-talı̨</u>.
The church log cabin is dated to the middle of the 1280s.

6.5.3 Dates and years

Dates are expressed by the ordinal number with no declension plus the month, for example, *fuost mai* ‘the first of May’, *oðer september* ‘the second of September’. If occurring independently, the ordinal number is used in the masculine, definite form in the accusative case.

Dier kam <u>fuost september</u>.
They arrived on the first of September.

Fuostan; tiuguniundan
on the first; on the twenty ninth

Years are expressed by merely the year or by the word *åred* (lit. 'year') followed by the numeral:

2022; år 2022.
At the year 2022.

7
Verbs

This chapter accounts for Elfdalian verbs, their forms, use and syntactic features.

The Elfdalian verb system has partially retained the classification inherited from Old Norse and Proto-Germanic with strong, weak and irregular verbs.

The present participles are provided in the verb tables in this chapter. They are further treated together with the adjectives (see Section 4.5.1). Past participles are partially treated in this chapter, but mainly together with the adjectives (see Sections 4.2.1.1, 4.2.1.3, 4.2.1.6, 4.2.1.7 and 4.5.2).

7.1 The forms of the Elfdalian verb

The Elfdalian verb system, as it is presented here, is divided into eight classes: seven weak verb classes, of which the seventh one is irregular, and one strong verb class. The strong verb class is, in turn, divided into eight so-called gradation series according to changes in their root vowels. The eighth series is irregular. The Elfdalian verb conjugates in moods, voices, tenses and persons.

Verbs are presented in the infinitive as the basic form. If unpredictable, the past tense singular and supine forms are provided additionally in parentheses.[1] Moreover, the syllable length of the root is in many paradigms relevant for the whole verb class. When relevant, the syllable length is provided with the class.

[1] See an explanation of the term 'supine' in Section 7.1.3.

7.1.1 Weak, strong and irregular verbs

Weak and strong verb classes are distinguished by a couple of features. The weak classes include a dental (i.e. *d, ð* or *t*) in the past tense suffix, for example, *dalska* 'speak Elfdalian' → *dalskeð.*PST.SG, *ära* 'hear' → *ärde.*PST.SG, *lęsa* 'lock' → *lęste.*PST.SG. As opposed to the weak classes, strong classes have no suffix in the past tense. On the other hand, they undergo a change of the root vowel according to their *ablaut* or *gradation series*, for example, *blåsa* 'blow' → *blis.*PST.SG → *bläseð.*SUP.

Fifth class weak verbs take the umlaut in all forms but the past tense and the supine, for example, *spyra* 'ask' → *spyr.*PRS.SG → *spuorde.*PST.SG → *spuort.*SUP.

Both weak and strong verbs include irregular verbs. The seventh class of weak verbs consists of irregular verbs, that is, weak verbs (and hence with a dental suffix in the past tense) with a vowel change (except for such included in the fifth class), and sometimes also changes in the root consonants, for example, *djärå* 'do' → *garde.*PST.SG. Note that seventh class weak verbs with alternative past tense forms lacking a dental suffix are treated as belonging to the same class, for example, *jåpa* 'help' → *jåpte, åpte,* or *ap.*PST.SG, → *jåpt, åpeð, äpeð, jåpeð.*SUP.

Among strong verbs, the eighth gradation series is irregular. Verbs of this series alternate their root vowel in the past participle and the supine differently from the first seven strong gradation series and may moreover alternate their C2 in these forms, for example, *sją̊* 'see' → *såg.*PST.SG → *si'tt.*SUP.

Note that the letter *j* before the root vowel may be dropped in the conjugation when it is morphologically a part of the root vowel, for example, *mjoka* 'milk' → *mok.*PST.SG, or when it is phonetically a part of the first root consonant, for example, *djävå* 'give' → *gav.*PST.SG → *djivið.*SUP.

Some of the most frequent Elfdalian verbs are either strong or irregular, for example, *drikka* 'drink', *djärå* 'do', *fårå* 'go', *fą̊* 'receive; get; may', *go* 'walk', *jåpa* 'help', *jätå* 'eat', *kunna* 'be able to', *saia* 'say', *sją̊* 'see', *wila* 'want', *wårå* 'be' and *åvå* 'have'.

7.1.2 Person, number and tense

The person conjugation has one common singular form and three plural forms: first person plural, second person plural and third person plural. The infinitive and the present in the third person plural have an identical form.[2]

[2] *Wårå* 'be' → *irå.*PRS.3PL is an exception to this rule.

The present singular has the following forms:

- *-r* in weak verbs of the sixth class, that is, when the root ends in a stressed vowel, for example, *truo* 'believe' → *truor.*
- *-(e)r* in some irregular weak verbs, the seventh class, when the root ends in a stressed vowel (possibly with the suffix *-a* in the infinitive), for example, *klå* 'scratch' → *klår, fya* 'follow' → *fyer*.
- *-er* in weak verbs of the first and third classes, for example, *dalska* 'speak Elfdalian' → *dalsker* and *ära* 'hear' → *ärer*, respectively.
- *-är* in weak verbs of the second class, for example, *spilå* 'play' → *spilär.*
- *-Ø* in weak verbs of the fourth and fifth classes, for example, *livå* 'live' → *liv* and *spyra* 'ask' → *spyr*, respectively, as well as in strong verbs, for example, *jätå* 'eat' → *jät.*
- The first person plural in all tenses and moods ends is *-um*,[3] as in *glåmå* 'talk' → *glamum* 'we talk; we are talking; let's talk'. The suffix of the second person plural in all tenses and moods is *-ið*,[4] as in *glamið* 'you talk.INDIC.PRS.2PL; you are talking; talk.IMP.PRS.2PL'.
- Vowels in monosyllabic forms in the past tense become automatically prolonged, for example, *wårå* 'to be' (with a short root vowel), but *war* 'was.PST' (with a long *a*).

Notes on the imperative singular:

- Regular verbs ending in *-Ø* in the present singular usually have an identical form in the imperative singular, for example, *spyr*.PRS.SG (weak) 'ask' → *spyr*.IMP.SG, *les*.PRS.SG (strong) 'read' → *les*.IMP.SG.[5]
- Weak, long-syllabled verbs take the *-e* in the imperative singular, for example, *danser* SG.PRS → *danse*.IMP.SG.
- Weak, short-syllabled verbs take the *-ä* in the imperative singular, for example, *spilär* PRS.SG → *spilä*.IMP.SG.
- A few short-syllabled verbs take the suffix *-i* in the imperative singular, for example, the irregular weak verbs *djärå* 'do' → *djäri* (or

[3] A few irregular monosyllabic verbs take *-mm(e)* rather than *-um* or as an alternative suffix, i.e. *fåˌ* 'receive; may' → *fåˌum* or *fåmm(e), go* 'walk' → *gåmm(e), måˌ (auxiliary modal verb)* → *måmm(e), åvå* 'have' → *avum, amm* or *amm(e).*

[4] A regional variant is *-ir.*

[5] Some regular phonological changes may occur in the first person imperative form, e.g. *finna* 'find' → *fið*.PRS.SG, but *fið* or *finn*.IMP.SG.

djär).IMP.SG and *åvå* 'have' → *avi*.IMP.SG, the regular strong verb *fårå* 'go' → *fari*.IMP.SG, as well as the irregular strong verb *wårå* 'be' → *wari*.IMP.SG.

7.1.3 The supine

The supine is an infinite and uninflectable form of the verb used with the auxiliary verb *åvå* in the present tense to form the perfect and pluperfect tenses, for example, *drikka* 'drink' → *ig ar druttjeð*.SUP 'I have drunk' and *ig add druttjeð*.SUP 'I had drunk', respectively.[6]

7.1.4 The perfect and the unstressed particle *að*

Verbs in the perfect are expressed through the auxiliary verb *åvå* 'have' + the supine.

However, when modal verbs are used in the perfect, the unstressed particle *að*,[7] etymologically an alternate supine form of *åvå* 'have', is used between the modal verb and the head verb in the supine, for example, *An lär að brukað tågå brymsą og ryttj yr diem fuotą* 'He allegedly used to take gadflies and tear their legs off' (for the use of *að* with the auxiliary verb *åvå*, see also Section 7.2.8.2).

7.1.5 The participles

The present participle behaves like an adjective in terms of meaning, syntactic function and sometimes also inflection. See also Sections 4.2 and 4.5.

The past participle behaves like an adjective in terms of meaning, inflectional and syntactic function. See also Sections 4.2 and 4.5.

[6] In English grammar, the term 'past participle' is used both to denote the second past tense in the active voice, e.g. *(I have) drunk/eaten*, and for the derived form of verb, used like an adjective in the passive voice, e.g. *(a) written (document)*, or *(a) commented (version)*. For Elfdalian, the term 'supine' is used here to denote the former and 'past participle' to denote the latter. Elfdalian supine and past participle behave differently, as the former only has one form whereas the latter declines like an adjective (see also Section 4.2).

[7] This particle should not be confused with the verb particle *að* as in *bygg að* 'enlarge' (by building).

7.1.6 The subjunctive

Only the verbs *wårå* 'be' and *åvå* 'have' have their own subjunctive forms, and only in the past tense (see Table 7.1). Other verbs can form their subjunctive forms paraphrastically with *åvå* in the subjunctive form as an auxiliary verb (see also Section 7.2.8.2).

Table 7.1 shows the conjugations of the verbs *wårå* 'be' and *åvå* 'have' in the past tense of the subjunctive mood.

Table 7.1 The conjugations of *wårå* 'be' and *åvå* 'have' in the past subjunctive

	wårå	åvå
SG	wäre	edde
IPL	wär*um*	edd*um*
2PL	wär*ið*	edd*ið*
3PL	wäre	edde

The verb *mą̊* can be used in the past tense with the infinitive of the head verb to express wishes (cf. English 'may') or lack of clarity ('I wonder if ...'). Its conjugation is provided in Table 7.2 (see also Section 7.2.10).

Table 7.2 shows the conjugation of the verb *mą̊* in the past tense.

Table 7.2 The conjugation of *mą̊* 'may' in the past tense

	mą̊
SG	måtte
IPL	mått*um*
2PL	mått*ið*
3PL	måtte

Note: For *måtte*. IPL, a paradigm with *ą̊* is used as a regional variation, that is, *mą̊'tte*, and so on.

7.1.7 Weak verbs (first to seventh class)

Weak verbs are characterised by their dental suffix in the past tense. There are seven classes of weak verbs. The fifth class is further characterised by a vowel change in the past tense and the supine. The seventh is irregular and is characterised by vowel and/or consonant changes in a way that deviates from that of the regular classes. See Table 7.3 for an outline of the weak verb classes.

Some notes on the weak verbs:

- Syllable length is relevant for the conjugation in roots ending in a consonant, that is, those belonging to the first to the fifth class. These are marked as SS (short-syllabled) and LS (long-syllabled).
- The past tense singular and the third person plural have an identical form.
- Some verbs of the fifth class undergo a vowel change in the past tense and in the supine.

Table 7.3 Outline of the weak verb classes

Classes (Syllable length)	**Infinitive, present and past tense singular, supine (endings and examples)**
first class (LS)	*-a; -er; -eð; -að* **dalska - dalsker - dalskeð - dalskað** 'speak Elfdalian'
second class (SS)	*-å; -är; -äð; -åð* **spilå - spilär - spiläð - spilåð** 'play'
third class (LS)	*-a/vowel + a; -er; -de/te; -t* **ära - ärer - ärde - ärt** 'hear' **lęsa - lęser - lęste - lęst** 'lock' **fya - fyer - fygte - fygt** 'follow'
fourth class (SS)	*-å; -Ø; -de; -åð* **livå - liv - livde - livåð** 'live (life)'
fifth class (LS)	*-a; -Ø* (+ possible umlaut); *-de/-te; -t* **spyra - spyr - spuorde - spuort** 'ask' **rwekte - rwek - rwekte - rwekt** 'heave, throw'
sixth class	*-Ø; -r; -'dde; -eð/aið* **truo - truor - truo'dde - truoeð** 'think; believe' **flå - flå'dde - flaið** 'skin'
seventh class	Irregular weak verbs, e.g.: **eva - ev - adde - apt** 'put; send off' **iega - ier - iegde - iegt** 'own'

Notes:

- Short-syllabled verbs ending in *-el* in the infinitive decline like verbs of the first class, for example, *sigel* 'sail' → *sigler*.PRS.SG → *sigleð*.PST.SG → *siglað*.SUP (rather than **siglåð* and **siglåð*, respectively, like other short-syllabled verbs (cf. second class)).
- A regional variant of the first class past suffix/affix *-eð* is *-et*.

7.1.7.1 First class (LS)

The first class includes a high number of verbs, overwhelmingly long-syllabled.[8] New, borrowed verbs that entered the language more recently

[8] See also the first note after Table 7.3.

usually fall into this class too, for example, *akudira* 'talk', *produsira* 'produce'.

Other verbs belonging to this class are *dalska* 'speak Elfdalian' (see conjugation in Table 7.4), *baða* 'bathe', *bruka* 'be used to (doing something)', *dansa* 'dance', *duona* 'arrange; clean; fix', *fuorka* 'urge; exhort', *gåpa* 'keep one's mouth open', *iemta* 'pick; gather', *ietta* 'be one's name', *måla* 'paint', *oka* 'increase', *riagira* 'react', *studir* 'study',[9] *surfa* 'surf', *tokka* 'thank', *wenta* 'assume; expect' and *ylla* 'praise'.

Table 7.4 The conjugation of *dalska* 'speak Elfdalian' (first class (LS))

Infinitive	*-a*	dalsk*a*
Supine	*-að*	dalsk*að*
Imperative (2SG, IPL, 2PL)	*-e, -um, -ið*	dalsk*e*, dalsk*um*, dalsk*ið*
Present participle	*-end*	dalsk*end*

	Present tense		Past tense	
SG	*-er*	dalsk*er*	*-eð*	dalsk*eð*
IPL	*-um*	dalsk*um*	*-eðum*	dalsk*eðum*
2PL	*-ið*	dalsk*ið*	*-eðið*	dalsk*eðið*
3PL	*-a*	dalsk*a*	*-eð*	dalsk*eð*

Notes:

- Verbs whose C2 consists of a consonant and a liquid acquire a syllabic *n* or an epenthetic *e* in the definite form (see also Section 2.5.4.1).
- The *n* becomes syllabic (hence no epenthetic *e* is necessary), when 1) *n* is preceded by a dental stop, as in *wattn-* → *wattn* 'to water'; 2) the liquid is preceded by an alveolar fricative, as in *brussn-* → *brussn-* 'burst, break', *biesl-* → *biesl-* 'bridle'.
- An epenthetic *e* is inserted when the liquid is preceded by a velar or a dental stop, as in *wakkn-* → *wakken* 'wake up', *andl-* → *andel* 'shop; trade', *åtr- sig* → *åter sig* 'regret'.

7.1.7.2 Second class (SS)

The second class contains short-syllabled verbs, such as *spilå* 'play' (see conjugation in Table 7.5), as well as *bukå* 'push', *kuogå* 'look', *luvå* 'promise', *stotå* 'stutter', *swigå* 'throw', *twiså* 'whisper' and *upås* (or *uppas*) 'hope'.[10]

[9] Apocopated in the basic form.
[10] The form *uppas* is long-syllabled and belongs to the first class.

Table 7.5 The conjugation of *spilå* 'play' (second class (SS))

Infinitive	*-å*	spil*å*
Supine	*-åð*	spil*åð*
Imperative (2SG, IPL, 2PL)	*-ä, -um, -ið*	spil*ä*, spil*um*, spil*ið*
Present participle	*-end*	spil*end*

	Present tense		Past tense	
SG	*-är*	spil*är*	*-äð*	spil*äð*
IPL	*-um*	spil*um*	*-äðum*	spil*äðum*
2PL	*-ið*	spil*ið*	*-äðið*	spil*äðið*
3PL	*-a*	spil*å*	*-äð*	spil*äð*

Note: Owing to vowel harmony, the root vowel *a* changes into *ä* and *å* according to the suffix vowel *ä* and *å*, respectively, as in *båkå* 'bake' (see Table 7.6), as well as *brågå* 'move', *fåtås* 'lack', *lågå* 'repair', *lågå ǫ̊ sig* 'leave, set off', *låkå* 'drip', *låpå* 'lap, drink; spill', *skåkå* 'shake', *swårå* 'answer', *työlå* 'freeze', *tugå* 'pull', *wåkå* 'remain awake' and *wårå* 'last' (see also Section 2.5.5).[11]

Table 7.6 The conjugation of *båkå* 'bake'

Infinitive	*-å*	båk*å*
Supine	*-åð*	båk*åð*
Imperative (2SG, IPL, 2PL)	*-ä, -um, -ið*	bäk*ä*, bak*um*, bak*ið*
Present participle	*-end*	bäk*end*

	Present tense		Past tense	
SG	*-är*	bäk*är*	*-äð*	bäk*äð*
IPL	*-um*	bak*um*	*-äðum*	bäk*äðum*
2PL	*-ið*	bak*ið*	*-äðið*	bäk*äðið*
3PL	*-a*	båk*å*	*-äð*	båk*åð*

7.1.7.3 Third class (LS)

Verbs belonging to this class are long-syllabled and have the past tense suffix *-de* or *-te*, in accordance with the voicing of the root's C2, for example, *är-* 'hear' → *ärde*.PST.SG due to a voiced C2, but *tjyöp-* 'buy' → *tjyöpte*.PST.SG due to a voiceless C2.

[11] The infinitive *wårå* is homonymous with *wårå* 'be', but follows a different conjugation pattern.

General notes to third class verbs:

- Verbs with a long root vowel and + dental C2, such as *kåyt-* 'run' and *baið-* 'wait' retain their vowel quantity and take additionally the endings *-te* and *-de*, respectively, in the past tense and *-t* in the supine. This results in overlong syllables, that is, *kåy'tte*, *bai'dde*.PST.SG and *kåy'tt, bai'tt*.SUP, respectively.
- Verbs whose C2 is *ndj, ddj, tj* or *ttj* undergo a depalatalisation into *ngg, gg, k* and *kk*, respectively, before *d* or *t*, i.e. in the past tense and in the supine, for example, *aindj-* 'hang' → *aindja*.INF and *aindjer*.PRS.SG, but *ainggde*.PST.SG and *ainggt*.SUP; *byddj-* 'dwell, live; build' → *byddja*.INF and *byddjer*.PRS.SG, but → *byggde*.PST.SG and *byggt*.SUP; *rätj-* 'smoke' → *rätja*.INF and *rätjer*.PRS.SG, but *räkte*.PST.SG and *räkt*.SUP; as well as *tyttj-* 'think, have an opinion' → *tyttja*.INF and *tyttjer*.PRS.SG, but *tykkte*.PST.SG and *tykkt*.SUP. Other verbs conjugated this way are *daindja (dainggde, dainggt)* 'bang, hit hard', *laingga* (*lainggde, lainggt*) 'prolong', *slätja* (*släkte, släkt*) 'lick', *syötja* 'have time for something; make something (timewise)', *taintja* (*tainkte, tainkt*) 'think, ponder' and *wettja* (*wekkte, wekkt*) 'wake'.
- Verb roots whose C2 is *sk* change into *stj* in all forms before a vowel and undergo a metathesis into *ks* in all forms before a consonant; for example, *fisk-* 'fish' → *fistja*.INF, *fistjer*.SG, → *fikste*.PST.SG, *fikst*.SUP; *slesk-* '*droop; throw; crack*' → *slestja*.INF, *slestjer*.PRS.SG → *slekste*.PST.SG, *slekst*.SUP (see also Section 2.5.8).
- Roots whose C2 contains a consonant + *d/t* omit the *d/t* in the past tense and in the supine, for example, *wenda* 'turn' → *wende*.PST.SG, *went*.SUP, *ryökta* 'clean' → *ryökte*.PST.SG, *ryökt*.SUP.
- Verb roots with *-gn* or *mn* as C2, such as *raingn-* 'rain', take the Ø-suffix in the infinitive owing to permanent apocope and an epenthetic *e* before the final consonant, that is, → *raingen*. When the root's C2 is *-mn*, as in *nemn-* 'name', *stemn* 'arrange; sue; tune', the long *m* is moreover doubled in the infinitive, that is, → *nemmen*, *stemmen* (see also Section 2.5.4.1).

Table 7.7 The conjugation of *ära* 'hear' (third class (LS), voiced C2)

Infinitive	*-a*	är*a*
Supine	*-t*	är*t*
Imperative (2SG, IPL, 2PL)	*-e, -um, -ið*	är*e*, är*um*, är*ið*
Present participle	*-end*	är*end*

Table 7.7 (continued)

	Present tense		Past tense	
SG	*-er*	är*er*	*-de*	är*de*
IPL	*-um*	är*um*	*-dum*	är*dum*
2PL	*-ið*	är*ið*	*-dið*	är*dið*
3PL	*-a*	är*a*	*-de*	är*de*

Note: Other verbs conjugated this, owing to a voiced C2 are: *baiða* (*bai'dde, bai'tt*) 'wait', *bella* 'be able to',[12] *brenna* 'burn', *byr å* 'begin', *djälla* 'concern', *dröma* 'dream', *fella* 'fell, drop', *fyöra* 'lead', *gema* 'hide', *glemma* 'forget', *kennas wið* 'know (a person)',[13] *kolla* 'call; check', *lieva* 'leave', *lära* or *lär sig* 'learn', *minnas* 'remember',[14] *pieka* 'point', *sela* 'sell', *skrieva* 'write', *waiga* 'marry (i.e. bring about a marriage)' and *wela* 'choose'.

Table 7.8 The conjugation of *tjyöpa* 'buy' (third class (LS), voiceless C2))

Infinitive	*-a*	tjyöp*a*
Supine	*-t*	tjyöp*t*
Imperative (2SG, IPL, 2PL)	*-e, -um, -ið*	tjyöp*e,* tjyöp*um,* tjyöp*ið*
Present participle	*-end*	tjyöp*end*

	Present tense		Past tense	
SG	*-er*	tjyöp*er*	*-te*	tjyöp*te*
IPL	*-um*	tjyöp*um*	*-tum*	tjyöp*tum*
2PL	*-ið*	tjyöp*ið*	*-tið*	tjyöp*tið*
3PL	*-a*	tjyöp*a*	*-te*	tjyöp*te*

Note: Other verbs conjugated this way, owing to a voiced C2, are: *arbiet* (*arbie'tte, arbie'tt*) 'work', *bigripa*[15] 'understand', *byta (by'tte, by'tt)* '(ex)change', *kęt i sig* (*kę'tte, ke'tt i sig*) 'move; work out', *kåyta (kåy'tte, kåy'tt)* 'run', *lieka* 'play (an instrument); spawn, pair', *lieta (lie'tte, li'ett)* 'search', *lęsa* 'lock', *läka* 'play (games etc.)', *rịesa* 'travel', *suopa* 'sweep', *rweka* 'heave, toss; evict, eject', *säta (sä'tte, sä'tt)* 'respect', *waisa* 'show', *ugsa* 'think, believe; enchant; bewitch' and *yöpa* 'shout'.

[12] An alternative past tense with *-t* exists, i.e. *bellte*, etc.

[13] An alternative past tense with *-t* exists, i.e. *kenntes wið*. Supine has *kenntas wið* (see Section 7.2.9.1).

[14] An alternative past tense form with *-t* exists, i.e. *minntes*. Supine has *minntas* (see Section 7.2.9.1).

[15] This verb has the alternative present singular form *bigrip*.

Verbs of this class containing a radical vowel and frequently + sometimes *-a* in the infinitive, and lacking a C2, such as *fya* 'follow' (see Table 7.9) acquire an epenthetic *g* before the suffixes *-de* and *-t*.[16] Note that the radical vowel remains long throughout the whole conjugation.

Table 7.9 The conjugation of *fya* 'follow'

Infinitive	*-a*	fy*a*
Supine	*-t*	fyg*t*
Imperative (2SG, 1PL, 2PL)	*-e, -um, -ið*	fy*e*, fy*um*, fy*ið*
Present participle	*-end*	fy*end*

	Present tense		Past tense	
SG	*-er*	fy*er*	*-gde*	fyg*de*
1PL	*-um*	fy*um*	*-gdum*	fyg*dum*
2PL	*-ið*	fy*ið*	*-gdið*	fyg*dið*
3PL	*-a*	fy*a*	*-gde*	fyg*de*

Other verbs conjugated this way are: *bry sig* 'bother (about sth)', *liea* 'rent' (*lieer*.PRS.SG), *kläa* 'itch', *lya* 'heat', *nyö sig* 'be satisfied', *plyöa* 'plough' and *smęa* 'thread; push through a narrow passage'.

7.1.7.4 Fourth class (SS)

Verbs belonging to this class are short-syllabled. They follow what is sometimes called a mixed paradigm, as they take the Ø-suffix in the present singular, *-de/te-* in the past tense (like third class verbs)[17] and *-åð* in the supine (like second class verbs).

The following verbs belong to this class: *livå* 'live' (see Table 7.10 for the whole conjugation), as well as *dugå* 'be able, succeed', *tuolå* 'last (about time); tolerate', *tuorås* 'dare' (*tuos*.PRS.SG, *tuoste, tuorås*) and *upplivå* 'experience, witness'.

Table 7.10 The conjugation of *livå* 'live' (fourth class (SS))

Infinitive	*-å*	liv*å*
Supine	*-åð*	liv*åð*
Imperative (2SG, 1PL, 2PL)	*-Ø, um, ið*	liv, liv*um*, liv*ið*
Present participle	*-end*	liv*end*

[16] Note that this *g* has historically been a part of the root in most verbs of this category.
[17] The suffixes adapt to the voicing of the C2 similarly to third class verbs.

Table 7.10 (continued)

	Present tense		Past tense	
SG	*-Ø*	liv	*-de*	liv*de*
IPL	*-um*	liv*um*	*-dum*	liv*dum*
2PL	*-ið*	liv*ið*	*-dið*	liv*dið*
3PL	*-å*	liv*å*	*-de*	liv*de*

7.1.7.5 Fifth class (LS)

Verbs belonging to this class are long-syllabled. They lack a suffix in the present singular (as fourth class verbs), take the suffix *-de/-te* in the past singular (as third and fourth class verbs) and *-t* in the supine (as third class verbs). Moreover, some verbs of this class take the umlaut in all forms except for the past tense and supine (here presented as sub-classes 1 and 2), that is:

- Sub-class 5.1: umlaut *uo* → *y* as in *spuor-* 'ask' → *spyra*.INF, *spyr*.PRS.SG.
- Sub-class 5.2: umlaut *a* → *e*, as in *krav-* 'choose' → *kreva*.INF, *krev* PRS.SG.
- Sub-class 5.3: no umlaut.

Table 7.11 shows the conjugation of *spyra* 'ask'

Table 7.11 The conjugation of *spyra* 'ask' (fifth class (LS))

Infinitive	umlaut + *-a*	spyr*a*
Supine	*-t*	spuor*t*
Imperative (2SG, IPL, 2PL)	umlaut + *-Ø, um, ið*	spyr, spyr*um*, spyr*ið*
Present participle	umlaut + *-end*	spyr*end*

	Present tense		Past tense	
SG	umlaut + *-Ø*	spyr	*-de*	spuor*de*
IPL	umlaut + *-um*	spyr*um*	*-dum*	spuor*dum*
2PL	umlaut + *-ið*	spyr*ið*	*-dið*	spuor*dið*
3PL	umlaut + *-a*	spyr*a*	*-de*	spuor*de*

Other verbs belonging to this class are:

- Sub-class 5.1: (with umlaut) *smyra* (*smuorde, smuort*) 'grease' and *stjyla* (*skuolde, skuolt*) 'rinse'.

- Sub-class 5.2: (with umlaut) *kreva* (*kravde, kravt*) 'demand', *leða* (*la'dde, la'tt*) 'load; charge', *legga* (*laggde, laggt*) 'put, lay' and *swega* (*swagde, swagt*) 'swallow' and *tema* (*tamdi, tamt*) 'tame'.
- Sub-class 5.3: (without umlaut) *rweka* (*rwekte*, *rwekt*) 'heave; throw', and *styra* (*styrde*, *styrt*) 'control; rule, steer'.

7.1.7.6 Sixth class

This class contains verbs with monosyllabic roots ending in a stressed vowel (cf. verbs as *bry sig* belonging to the third class, see Table 7.9). Verbs belonging to this class take the suffix *-r* in the present and *–'dde* in the past tense. As for the supine, two sub-classes have two different supine paradigms:

- Sub-class 6.1, embracing most verbs from this class, taking the suffix *-eð* in the supine.
- Sub-class 6.2, embracing few verbs from this class, replacing their root vowel *-å* by *-aið* in the supine.

Table 7.12 shows the conjugation of *truo* 'think (owing to an assumption or guess); believe' (sub-class 6.1).

Table 7.12 The conjugation of *truo* 'think; believe' (sixth class)

Infinitive	*-Ø*	truo
Supine	*-eð*	truo*eð*
Imperative (2SG, IPL, 2PL)	*-Ø, -um, -ið*	truo, truo*um*, truo*ið*
Present participle	*-end*	truo*end*

	Present tense		Past tense	
SG	*-r*	truo*r*	*-'dde*	truo*'dde*
IPL	*-um*	truo*um*	*-'ddum*	truo*'ddum*
2PL	*-ið*	truo*ið*	*-'ddið*	truo*'ddið*
3PL	*-Ø*	truo	*-'dde*	truo*'dde*

Other verbs belonging to this class are:

- Sub-class 6.1: *biruo* 'depend', *bitruo* 'entrust, confide', *gå* 'notice; observe', *gruo* 'grow', *spå* 'predict; tell fortunes', *stjy* 'shun; avoid', *så* 'sow, trå long (for)'.
- Sub-class 6.2: *flå* 'skin' (*flå'dd, flaið*), *klå* 'beat; scratch' (*klå'dde, klaið*).[18]

[18] An alternative irregular form *kluo* exists in the past tense.

7.1.7.7 Seventh class (irregular)

Besides acquiring a dental consonant in the past tense suffix, verbs belonging to this class undergo a change of the root vowel or some other phonological changes when compared with regular weak verbs. Note that verbs with alternative forms with no dental suffix are also included in this class, for example, *jåpa* 'help' → *åpte/åp*.PST.SG.

In Table 7.13, the first person plural and the second person plural are only provided if unpredictable from the first person singular form, in which case they are separated by commas. Alternative forms are separated by slashes. Semicolons are used to separate between synonymous verbs used with or without a particle.

Table 7.13 Irregular weak verbs

Infinitive	Present SG (1PL, 2PL)	Past tense SG (1PL, 2PL, 3PL)	Supine	Imperative SG (2PL)	Meaning
djärå	djär	garde/ djärde	gart	djäri/djär	*do*
eva	ev	adde	apt	ev	*put; send off*
iega	ier	iegde	iegt/iegað	–	*own*
jåpa	jåp	jåpte/åpte/ åp	jåpt/åpeð/ äpeð/jåpeð	jåp	*help*
kunna	kann, kunnum, kunnið	kunnde	kunnað	—	*can*
låtå	lat	lit/latte	latt	låt	*let*
mą	mą, mąum/ måmm(e), mąið	munde/ måtte	—	—	*Expressing wish, doubt, unclarity*
saia	ser, saium, saiið	saggde	saggt	seg, saiið	*say*
settja	set, settjum, settjið	sette	sett	sett	*put*
snaia	snair	sni'dde	snieð	—	*snow*
spaia	spair	spi'dde	spieð	spai	*vomit*
stjila	stjil	stjilde	stjilt	stjil	*distinguish, separate*
taia	ter, taium, taiið	taggde	taggt	teg, taiið	*be silent*
tepå; tep att	tep; tep att	tepte; tept att	tept; tept att	tep; tep att	*close*

Table 7.13 (continued)

Infinitive	Present SG (1PL, 2PL)	Past tense SG (1PL, 2PL, 3PL)	Supine	Imperative SG (2PL)	Meaning
twå	twär	twä'dde	twaið	twä, twåið	*wash*
ula	al, ulum, ulið	ullde	ulað	—	*will*
wila	will, wilum, wilið	willde	wilað	—	*want*
åvå	ar, amm(e)/ avum avið	adde	apt	avi	*have*

Notes:

- *Djärå* has *gar* in the past participle.
- The verb *må* is different from the regular verb *må* 'feel; be feeling'. The verb has a subjunctive form *måtte* with different functions. See Section 7.2.8.2.
- *Munde* and *måtte* have different meanings and functions, both as auxiliary modal verbs. *Munde* means 'could' or expresses wondering, as in *Å spuord um eð mund war uvsient* 'She asked (was wondering) if it was (perhaps) too late'. *Måtte* functions to express wishes, as in *Mått eð raingen* 'May it rain' or an event or action that is ascribed high probability by the speaker, for example, *Eð mått far raingen* 'It appears to be beginning to rain', *Oll kripper mått war trä'tter* 'All the kids are apparently tired.' See also Section 7.2.8.2.
- Note that *gg* in the past tense and supine *taggde* and *taggt* denote a short root vowel.

7.1.8 Strong verbs (the eighth class)

The eighth class of Elfdalian verbs consists of strong verbs. Strong verbs lack a tense suffix in the past tense, but instead mark the past tense with a change of the radical vowel.[19] The strong verbs are in turn divided into seven gradation series, which follow the different patterns for vowel change. The eighth series is irregular, as it contains verbs that do not fit into any of the first seven series.

The conjugation into persons follows an identical pattern in all gradation series. The suffixes of all gradation series follow some common patterns. Some patterns may vary according to the syllable length (long-syllabled in all forms, short-syllabled in all forms but the past tense or a mixed pattern, as shown in Table 7.14); see further explanation below. The patterns of the various gradation series are provided in Table 7.15.

[19] Note that such a vowel change in the past sometimes involves the omission of a pre-vowel *j*, e.g. *mjoka* → *mok*.PST.SG.

The personal suffixes of the tenses are common to all gradation series, as shown in Table 7.16. Hence, only the present singular, past tense singular and the supine forms of the various gradation series are provided in the current sub-section. Moreover, regular phonological changes in the C2 take place (see Section 7.6).

A few strong verbs whose C2 consist of *nd* or *ngg* (in present or historically) undergo a devoicing of their last dental consonant, as well as a nasal assimilation in the present singular, the imperative second person singular and the past singular, for example, *binda* 'bind' → *bitt*.PRS.SG → *bitt* (or *bind*).IMP.2SG → *bott*.PST.SG. Note also *go* 'walk' (< ON *ganga*) → *gokk*.IMP.2SG → *djikk*.PST.SG, but *gor*.PRS.SG.

Strong verbs may be long-syllabled or short-syllabled. Long-syllabled verbs most commonly take the infinitive suffix *-a* and the supine suffix *-eð*, whereas short-syllabled verbs most commonly take the infinitive suffix *-å* and the supine suffix *-ið* (see Table 7.14). However, verbs of the first and second gradation series are long-syllabled in all forms but short-syllabled in the supine, for example, *baita* 'bite' but → *bitið*.SUP (first gradation series), *briuota* (LS) 'break' → *brutið*.SUP (second gradation series).[20] The sixth gradation series contains short-syllabled verbs, for example, *fårå* 'go' → *ferið*.SUP).

Table 7.14 Infinitive, supine and imperative suffixes of strong verbs

	All series	*folla* 'fall' (seventh gradation series)	*baita* 'bite' (first gradation series)	*bjärå* 'carry' (fourth gradation series)
Infinitive	*-a* (LS), *-å* (SS)	foll*a*	bait*a*	bjär*å*
Supine	*-eð* (LS), *-ið* (SS)	foll*eð*	bit*ið*	buor*ið*
Imperative (2SG, IPL, 2PL)	-Ø, *ið*	foll, foll*um*, foll*ið*	bjär, bjär*um*, bjär*ið*	bjär, bjär*um*, bjär*ið*
Present participle	*-end*	foll*end*	bait*end*	bjär*end*

[20] Additionally, owing to a phonological rule, monosyllabic words ending in one consonant always contain a long vowel.

Table 7.15 contains an outline of the root vowel changes in the various gradation series. Every gradation series contains the root vowel in three variants: 1) the first one applies for the infinitive, present, imperative and present participle; 2) the second for the past tense; 3) and the third one for the supine. In the gradation series that follow, alternative vowels for the different verb forms are separated by commas, whereas the three different forms are separated by hyphens. For instance, the fifth gradation series has ***e***, ***ä – a – e***, ***ie***, ***i***, thus meaning that the root vowel may alternate between *e* and *ä* in the infinitive, has *a* in the past form, and may alternate between *e, ie* and *i,* in the supine.

Table 7.15 An outline of the strong verb gradation series

First gradation series (LS/SS.SUP.)	***ai - ie - i***, e.g.: **baita – biet – bitið** 'bite'
Second gradation series (LS/SS.SUP)	***iuo***, ***iǫo***, ***au – o***, ***å***, ***iǫo***, ***juo***, ***au – u***, ***ǫ***, ***uo***, e.g.: a. **briuota – brot – brutið** 'break' **nǫuosa – nås – nǫsið** 'sneeze' b. **biuoða – boð – buoðið** 'invite' c. **saupa – sop – supið** 'drink; booze'
Third gradation series (LS)	***e***, ***i***, ***ie – a***, ***o – u***, ***uo***, e.g.: a. **rekka – rakk – ruttjeð** 'suffice' b. **werda – wart – uorteð** 'become' c. **finna – fann – funneð** 'find' d. **drikka – drokk – druttjeð** 'drink'
Fourth gradation series (SS)	***jä***, ***iä – a – uo***, e.g.: a. **bjärå – bar – buorið** 'bear, carry' b. **stiälå – stal – stuolið** 'steal'
Fifth gradation series (SS)	***e***, ***ä – a – e***, ***ie***, ***i***, e.g.: a. **kweðå – kwað – kweðið** 'sing' b. **djätå – gat – djietið** 'mention' c. **djävå – gav – djivið** 'give'
Sixth gradation series (LS, SS)	***-a/-å – uo – a***, ***e***, e.g.: a. **fårå – fuor – ferið** 'go; do; behave; begin (unintentionally)' b. **tågå – tuog – taið** 'take'
Seventh gradation series (LS)	***o***, ***å – jä***, ***i – e***, ***ä***, e.g: a. **folla – fjäll – felleð** 'fall' b. **blåsa – blis – bläseð** 'blow'
Eighth gradation series	Irregular, e.g.: a. **witå – wisse – witåð** 'know' b. **åka – uok – ätjeð** 'drive'

Notes:

- A few frequent short-syllabled strong verbs take the suffix *-i* in the imperative of the second person singular, These are *fårå* 'go; do; behave; begin doing something (unintentionally)' → *fari*.IMP.2SG, *wårå* 'be' → *wari*.IMP.2SG and *åvå* 'have' → *avi*.IMP.2SG (see also the respective verb conjugations).
- The verbs *wårå*, *fårå* and *werda* have the supines *werið/weð*, *ferið/feð* and *uorted/uort*, respectively. Both variants may occur, but the short variants never occur in a sentence-final position.
- Sixth gradation series: the infinitive suffix *-a/-å* alternates according to long-syllabled and short-syllabled verbs, respectively.

7.1.8.1 First gradation series (LS/SS)

Verbs belonging to the first gradation series are long-syllabled in all forms but the supine, which is short-syllabled.

The first gradation series involves the following change in the radical vowel:

ai - ie - i, as in: **baita – biet – bitið** 'bite'

Table 7.16 shows the personal suffixes of the verb *baita* in the present and in the past tense. Note that the personal suffixes indicated in the table are common to all strong verbs.

Table 7.16 The conjugation of *baita* 'bite' (first gradation series (LS/SS))

	Present tense		Past tense	
SG	-Ø	bait	-Ø	biet
IPL	*-um*	bait*um*	*-um*	biet*um*
2PL	*-ið*	bait*ið*	*-ið*	biet*ið*
3PL	*-a*	bait*a*	*-u*	biet*u*

Note: The suffix *-u* in the third person plural of the past tense among strong verbs may also occur as *-a* or *-å* owing to regional variation.

Other verbs conjugating likewise include *draiva* 'drive, push, force', *klaiva* 'climb', *laiða* 'draw (on) (about time)', *raiða* 'ride', *skaina* 'shine', *staiga* 'step' and *rwaiða* 'turn'.

Note that if C2 is equal to *g*, *g* is omitted and the suffix *-ð* is added in the supine, for example, *maiga* (*mieg, mið*) 'urinate' (see also Section 2.5.2.2.1).

7.1.8.2 Second gradation series (LS/SS)

In this and the following gradation series, only the present singular, the past tense singular and the supine are shown. For the personal suffixes in the present and the past tenses, see Table 7.16.

Verbs belonging to the second gradation series involve the vowel change – ***o***, ***å*** – ***u***, ***ų***, ***uo*** as in:

a) ***iuo***, ***iųo*** – ***o***, ***å*** – ***u***, as in **briuota – brot – brutið** 'break', **niuosa – nås – nusið** 'sneeze'. Other verbs conjugating likewise include *driuopa* 'drip', *fliuoga* 'fly', *fliuota* 'flow, run, be fluid', *friuosa* 'freeze', *kriuopa* 'kneel', *niųopa* (*nåp*, *nupið*) 'pinch', *riuota* 'moo' and *striuoka* 'press; scratch. iron'.
b) ***iuo***, ***juo*** – ***o*** – ***uo***, as in **biuoða – boð – buoðið** 'offer; invite'. Other verbs conjugating likewise include *stjuota* (*skot, skuotið*) 'shoot' and *siuoða* 'cook'.
c) ***au*** – ***o*** [o:] – ***u***, as in **saupa – sop – supið** 'drink; booze'.[21] Other verbs conjugating likewise include *glaupa* 'gorge, eat/drink voraciously', *lauta* 'lean', *sauga* (*sog, sueð*) 'suck', *swella* (*swall, suolleð*) 'swell, swell up'[22] and *swelta* (*swalt, suolteð*) 'starve'.[23]

7.1.8.3 Third gradation series (LS)

Verbs belonging to the third gradation series involve the vowel change ***e***, ***i***, ***ie*** – ***a***, ***o*** – ***u***, ***uo***, as in **finna (fann, funneð)** 'find'.

Notes:

- Verbs whose radical vowel in the past tense is *a* followed by *ngg* or *nk* change their vowel in the past tense into *au* according to a phonological rule, for example, *klingga* 'sound' → *klaungg*.PST.SG (see Section 2.1.2.3).
- Roots with *kk* as their C2 change it into → *ttj* in the supine, for example, *drikka* 'drink' → *druttjeð*.SUP. Roots with *gg* as their C2 change it into → *ddj* in the supine, for example, *tegga* 'chew' → *tuddjeð*.SUP (see Section 2.5.1).
- Roots with *nn* as their C2 change into → *ð* in the present singular, when they derive from ON *nnr*, for example, *finna* 'find' → *fið*, *rinna* → *rið* 'flow; stream'[24] and *spinna* → *spið* 'spin'.

More verbs of this series are shown in Table 7.17.

[21] The root vowel is long in the past participle.
[22] Note that **wo* is rendered as <uo> according to orthographic conventions.
[23] Note that **wo* is rendered as <uo> according to orthographic conventions.
[24] Note, for example, that a verb such as *spienna* 'kick', originating from **spiærna* (and not *-nn*), does not undergo this change and thus has *spienn* in the singular present.

Table 7.17 Common verbs of the third gradation series

Infinitive	Present SG (IPL)	Past tense SG	Supine	Meaning
binda	bitt, bindum	bott	bundeð	*bind*
brinna	brið, brinnum	brann	brunneð	*burn (intransitive)*
drikka	drikk	drokk	druttjeð	*drink*
finna	fið, finnum	fann	funneð	*find*
finnas	finns, finnums	fanns	funnes	*there to be, be found*
feswinna	feswið, feswinnum	feswann	fesuonneð	*disappear*
glaupa	glaup	glop	glupið	*gorge, eat or drink greedily*
klingga	klingg	klaungg	klundjeð	*ring; sound*
krella	krell	krall	krulleð	*be swarming with something; mingle*
rekka	rekk	rakk	ruttjeð	*suffice*
simma	simm	samm	summeð	*swim*
skwella	skwell	skwall	skuolleð	*give a loud echo, resound*
spienna	spienn	spann	spuonneð	*kick*
spretta	sprett	sprott	sprutteð	*rip off, rip up, slit*
stikka	stikk	stokk	stuttjeð	*knit; stick; sting; prick*
striuoka	striuok	strok	strutjið	*iron; press; scratch*
swelta	swelt	swalt	suolteð	*starve*
tegga	tegg	togg	tuddjeð	*chew*
welta	welt	walt	uolteð	*roll; overturn, tip*
winna	wið, winnum	wann	uonneð	*win; have time (for something); make it (on time)*

Notes:
- The imperative forms of *finna* are *finn*.IMP.2SG and *finnið*.IMP.2PL.
- For *samm*, *såmm* also occurs locally.

7.1.8.4 Fourth gradation series (SS)

Verbs belonging to the fourth gradation series involve the vowel change ***jä***, ***iä – a – uo***, as in **bjärå – bar – buorið** 'carry'. See examples of verbs with the root vowels *iä* and *jä* in Table 7.18.

Table 7.18 Examples of fourth gradation series verbs with *iä* and *jä*

Infinitive	Present SG (IPL)	Past tense SG	Supine	Meaning
stiälå	stiäl	stal	stuolið	*steal*
stjärå	stjär	skar	skuorið	*cut*

7.1.8.5 Fifth gradation series (SS)

Verbs belonging to the fifth gradation series involve the vowel change ***e, i, ä – a – e***, ***ie***, ***i*** as in:

a) ***e - a - e***, as in **kweðå – kwað – kweðið** 'sing'. Other verbs with this conjugation include *drepå* 'kill', *leså* 'read' and *wevå* 'weave'.
b) ***ä - a - ie***, as in **djätå – gat – djietið** 'mention'. Other verbs with this conjugation include *jätå* (*åt, ietið*) 'eat'.
c) ***ä - a - i***, as in **djävå – gav – djivið** 'give'.

See other examples in Table 7.19 below.

Table 7.19 Common verbs of the fifth gradation series

Infinitive	Present SG (IPL)	Past tense SG (PL)	Supine	Imperative	Meaning
biða	bið	bað	beðið, biðið	bið	*ask insistently (for sth); pray*
djätå	djät	gat	djietið	djät	*mention*
djävå	djäv	gav	djivið	djäv	*give*
drepå	drep	drap	drepið	drep	*kill*
jäså	jäs	as	iesið	jäs	*ferment*
kweðå	kweð	kwað	kweðið	kweð	*sing*
leså	les	las	lesið	les	*read*
rekå	rek	rak	rekið	rek	*push, drive*
wevå	wev	wav	wevið	wev	*weave*

7.1.8.6 Sixth gradation series (LS)

Verbs belonging to the sixth gradation series involve the vowel change ***å – uo – a***, ***e***, as in:

a) ***å – uo – e***, as in **fårå – fuor – ferið** 'go; do; behave; begin (unintentionally)'. Other verbs with this conjugation include *gråvå* 'dig' and *målå* 'grind'.
b) ***å – uo – a***, as in **klå – kluo – klaið** 'scratch'. Other verbs with this conjugation include *drågå* pull, *gnågå* 'gnaw' and *tågå* 'take'.

Note that verbs ending in *-ågå* acquire the following suffix in the present tense: *-ar*.PRS.SG, *-agum*.PRS.IPL and *-aið*.PRS.2PL, such as *tågå*

→ *tar*.PRS.SG, *tagum*.PRS.IPL, *taið*.PRS.2PL. For the change from root vowel *a* into *å*, see the note on vowel harmony in Section 7.6. For the phonological change of *tågå* into *taið*, see Section 2.5.2.2.1.

7.1.8.7 Seventh gradation series (LS)

Verbs belonging to the seventh gradation series involve the vowel change ***o*, *å* – *jä*, *i* – *a*, *e***

a) ***å* – *i* – *ä***, as in **blåsa – blis – bläseð** 'blow; be windy'. Other verbs with this conjugation include *gråta* 'cry heavily', *låta* 'sound; say' and *råða* 'rule, prevail; win; help' (as in 'I can't help it').
b) ***o* – *jä* – *e***, as in **folla – fjäll – felleð** 'fall'. Other verbs with this conjugation include **ogga (jägg, eddjeð)** 'chop'.

7.1.8.8 Eighth gradation series (irregular)

The eighth gradation series includes strong verbs that do not fit into any of the first seven gradation series. Table 7.20 provides some important verbs belonging to this category.

Table 7.20 Irregular strong verbs (eighth gradation series)

Infinitive	Present SG (IPL, 2PL)	Past tense SG (IPL, 2PL, 3PL)	Supine	Imperative SG (2PL)	Meaning
däa	där	duo	däeð	dä	*die*
fą	fąr, fåmm(e), fąið	fikk, finggum, finggið, finggu	faið	fą	*receive; may*
go	gor, goum/ gåmm(e)	djikk, djinggum, djinggið, djinggu	gaið	gokk	*walk; go*
jätå	jät	åt	ietið	jät	*eat*
ligga	ligg	låg	laið	ligg	*lie down*
lopa	lop	liep	läpeð	lop	*flow; run*
läa	lär	luo	läeð	lä	*laugh*
mjoka	mjok	mok	motjeð	mjok	*milk*
olda	old	jält	eldeð	old	*hold*
sittja	sit, situm/ sittjum, sittið/ sittjið	såt	setið	sit	*sit*

Table 7.20 (continued)

Infinitive	Present SG (IPL, 2PL)	Past tense SG (IPL, 2PL, 3PL)	Supine	Imperative SG (2PL)	Meaning
sją̊	sir, sją̊um/ sjåmm, sją̊ið	såg	si'tt	sją̊	*see*
slå	slår	sluog	slaið	slå	*hit*
standa	stand	stuoð	stendeð	stott, standið	*stand*
stjåva	stjåv	skåv	skåveð	stjåv	*tremble*
swera	swer	suor	suoreð	swer	*swear*
såvå	sov	sov	sovið	sov	*sleep*
witå	wet, witum, witið	wisse	witåð	—	*know (knowledge)*
wåråå	ir	war	werið/ weð	wari	*be*
åka	åk	uok	ätjeð	åk	*drive*

Notes:
- The past participle of *sją̊* is *si'dd*.
- The radical vowel of *såvå* is short in plural forms in the present.
- The short supine form *weð* may not be used in a sentence-final position.

7.2 Use of verbs

This section accounts for the use of the Elfdalian verbs.

7.2.1 Agreement

The Elfdalian predicate agrees with its subject:

> **Issn-jär bljåmmin <u>ir</u> wenest grann.**
> This flower is.PRS.3PL very beautiful.
>
> **Bljåmmer <u>irå</u> so granner.**
> Flowers are.PRS.3PL so beautiful.
>
> **<u>Warum</u> mikkel påyker og kullur frą̊ Nesį.**
> We were.PST.IPL many boys and girls from Neseð.

However, in constructions involving a formal and real subject, the verb agrees with the formal subject *eð* 'there' (lit. 'it'), and not with the real subject, as one would expect, for example:

Ð<u>ir</u> mikkel tempur so ul djärås iss tiðę.
There are.PRS.3SG many duties, which should be done during this period.

Ð<u>kumb</u> brievę frå ollumsta'ss.
Letters are arriving.PRS.3SG from everywhere (lit. 'there arrive letters from everywhere').

7.2.2 The infinitive

7.2.2.1 Main use

The use of the Elfdalian infinitive often corresponds to the English infinitive. However, it usually occurs without the infinitive marker *tä* 'to' (see also Section 7.2.12).

Ig willd <u>råk</u> Grubb-smiðn.
I wanted to meet Grubb the smith.

Ð ir sakt trivlit <u>få åvå</u> noð livendes warels.
It is indeed pleasant to have a living creature around.

Ig ar mikkel måyser <u>binda</u>.
I have a lot of things to do (lit: 'I have a lot of mice to bind').

Kattn add lag å <u>fåra</u> å brunę.
The cat had the sense to take the road on the bridge.

7.2.2.2 'In order to'

'In order to' is usually expressed by the coordinating conjunction *og* 'and' + the verb in the infinitive, or by the subordinating conjunction *so* 'so'.

Puolisär add werið jųoti by <u>og tågå</u> gubban Forsberg og sun os John.
The policemen had come to the village in order to take (or: and took) the old man Forsberg and his son John.

An add weð aut <u>og ulað liet att</u> uondlostjynär.
He went out to find the careless cows.[25]

[25] Cows that don't care about returning home in the evening.

Ulåv war ini tjyörtjun og ulld pruov nyorgur.
Ulåv went to the church to try the new organ (lit. 'and would try to the new organ').

Ig legg brieveð järˌ so an al werd iwari dyö.
I will put the letter here in order for him to observe it (lit. 'so he will become aware of it').

Ig ser so, bar so du wet.
I'm saying that, (just) in order for you to know (lit. 'only so you know').

7.2.2.3 Elfdalian and English infinitives

The use of the infinitive may vary between Elfdalian and English.

7.2.2.3.1 Infinitive in Elfdalian, but not in English

When the action is the subject or object of the clause, or is a part of the predicative, Elfdalian uses the infinitive, whereas English often uses the gerund:

Ið ir fel inggų sak dalska.
It's not a problem to speak-Elfdalian.INF.

An tyttjer um ridjärå min kullum.
He likes fooling around.INF with the girls.

Spilåkalln war duktin spilå.
The musician was good at playing.INF.

Fistjin war litt iema.
Descaling.INF the fish was easy (lit. 'The fish was easy descale').

After 'too' + adjective or adverb + for (something), Elfdalian uses the infinitive, where English would often use a noun:

Ið war uvkolt að en aut og kåyta.
It was too cold for her to go for a run (lit. 'out and run.INF').

Ig ar uvmitjið bistyra.
I have too much to take care of.INF.

7.2.2.3.2 Infinitive in English, but not in Elfdalian

In structures with verbs such as 'hear', 'see' and an object, Elfdalian uses a subordinate clause with a finite verb form where English normally uses the infinitive or the gerund:

Ig ärd fuglär spiläð. Ig ärd ur fuglär spiläð.
I heard the birds sing/singing (lit. 'I heard the birds sang' or 'I heard how the birds sang', respectively).

With object, infinitive and verbs such as 'want', 'wish', 'ask' and 'allow', Elfdalian uses a subordinate clause with a finite verb form, whereas English normally uses the object and infinitive:

Wert will du å al fårå?
Where do you want her to go? (lit. 'Where do you want she will go?')

After verbs such as 'wait for', Elfdalian often uses a subordinate clause with a finite form, where English normally uses an object and an infinitive:

Bai'ddum eter suolę ulld far skaina.
We were waiting for the sun to start to shine (lit. 'the sun would begin to shine').

After an interrogative, Elfdalian uses a subordinate clause with a finite verb, whereas English normally uses the infinitive:

Wissið it wert ulldið fårå.
You (to several persons) didn't know where to go (lit. 'where you were going to go').

7.2.3 The present tense

The present tense in Elfdalian has the uses demonstrated here.

7.2.3.1 Instantaneous present

This type of present denotes events or actions taking place here and now:

Ð kumb våtað uvåter.
Rain (lit. 'wet') is coming from above.

Wen djär du?
What are you doing?

Ig bigrip it wen du ser.
I don't understand what you're saying.

7.2.3.2 State or habitual present

This use denotes general or regular actions or events:

Övdaln ir i Swerre.
Övdaln is in Sweden.

Ð snair um wittern.
It snows in wintertime.

Krippär go i skaulam.
The children go to school.

7.2.3.3 Denoting future action

Future action is commonly expressed by the present tense:

Ð werd grannweðreð i morgų.
There will be (lit. 'becomes.PRS.SG') nice weather tomorrow.

Dier kumå um lovda'n.
They are coming.PRS.PL on Saturday.

Ir du liðun wikų so kumb?
Will you have time (lit. 'are you vacant') next week?

Farið iemat að me'nn?
Are you going.PRS.PL home tomorrow morning?

Another common way to express future is by combining the modal verb *ula* in the present with the infinitive form of the verb:

Ulum fel fą ð klart.
We will get it done.

Nų al ig umstað.
I am leaving now (lit. 'Now I'll leave').

An additional, less common and more recent way to express future in LCE is by combining *kumå tä* (lit. 'come to') in the present with the infinitive:

Ig kumb tä sakken dig uvendes.
I will miss you enormously.

Ð kumb tä go bra.
It will be OK (lit. 'go well').

7.2.4 The past tense

7.2.4.1 With specific time indication

The past tense is used similarly to English, that is, to express an action completed at a point in the past. The time is sometimes expressed explicitly:

> **Mes djinggum gainum launggkuvån tuog Agnes iet tunnt ullermkläð og saggd å minndes mun mąi add apt eð, mes å war til.**
> While we were walking.PST.IPL through the long chamber, Agnes took.PST.SG a thin woollen kerchief and said PST.SG she remembered. PST.SG that my mum had had.PLUP it while she was.PST.SG alive.

> **Nų, mes klukką ir fiuortå minut yvyr sjäks, skain suolę å kuvådörär.**
> Now, when the time is fourteen minutes past six, the sun is shining on the chamber door.

> **I morgus duoneð ig til ien liuotnymųoðugan rett.**
> This morning I prepared a very modern dish.

> **Inger og ig fygdesum að juåti Tjitt firi middag.**
> Inger and I went together to Tjitt before noon.

> **Klukką 4.30 kam ig upp.**
> At 4.30 I got up.

7.2.4.2 Habitual action

Denoting a habitual or repeated action or event in the past:

> **Å war upp og djikk um nętär dar å dugd it såvå.**
> She was up and walking during the nights when she could not sleep.

> **Warum i buðum wenn såmår.**
> We used to be in the summer pasture each summer.

7.2.4.3 Polite expressions

Verbs in the past tense in the subjunctive mood renders the expression a milder and more polite tone (see also Section 7.1, as well as Section 7.2.8.2):

> **Edd du weð rieð byr å nų?**
> Are you ready (lit. 'would you be ready') to start now?

7.2.5 The perfect tense

As in English, the perfect indicative tense is formed by combining the verb *åvå* in the present with the supine, for example, *Ig ar dalskað* 'I have spoken Elfdalian'.

7.2.5.1 Actions with result in the present

Similarly to English, the perfect tense in Elfdalian may indicate a past action or state with a reference to, or a result, in the present:

> **Amm it ietið pärur older för, men nų jätum wįð pärur werr wiku.**
> We have never eaten potatoes before, but now we have potatoes every week.
>
> **Ig ar sakt ietið mettan mig nų.**
> I am indeed full now (lit. 'I have indeed eaten myself full now').
>
> **Ar du druttjeð yr mjotję?**
> Have you drunk up the milk?
>
> **Du ar uorteð watun dalska.**
> You have become skilled in Elfdalian (lit. 'in speaking Elfdalian').

7.2.5.2 Actions which have taken and are still taking place

Whereas English often uses the present perfect continuous, Elfdalian uses the perfect:

> **Dier åvå byggt i Övdalim i noð mikklų år.**
> They have been living in Övdaln for quite a number of (lit. 'quite many') years.
>
> **Eð ar ig witåð ses faðer saggd åv dyö fer mig.**
> This I have known since my father told me about it.

7.2.5.3 Actions in the perfect with sentence adverbs

As in English, actions in the past with sentence adverbs indicating general or unspecific points in time, such as *enn* 'still, yet, already', *kringgt* 'often', *milumað* 'sometimes', *nossn* 'ever', *older* 'never' and *olltiett* 'always' often take the perfect in tense in Elfdalian. Moreover, when these adverbs are implied from the context, the perfect tense is often the preferred one.

> **Ar du si'tt työðurn enn?**
> Have you seen the capercaillie yet?

Ig ar it werið upå tatjį nossn.
I have never been on the roof (lit. 'I haven't been to the roof any time').

Ig edd it older að ulað får darfrå.
I should never have left from there.

Ur beller an witå ukin ig ir, dar an ar it si'tt mig older för?
How can he know who I am, if he has never seen me before?

Amm older it apt inggan båråå, wįð itjä.
We have never had a *bari* (or 'troll cat').

Ar du ärt Bufyörswaisų?
Have you heard (the song) *Bufyörswaisą*?

Wen ar du då funneð upp då?
What have you got up to (general, unspecific time frame)?

Actions taking place in a specific point in the past, expressed explicitly or understood from the context, are usually put in the past tense (see Section 7.2.4).

7.2.5.4 An action in the future preceding another action in the future

An action in the future, preceding another action in the future, is often expressed in the perfect tense, sometimes with the subordinating conjunction *dar* or *bara*.

Ig will djärå eð-dar dar/bar li'tt ar werið
I want do it in a short while (i.e. 'only/after some time has passed').

I wikų so kumb ar ig fyllt femti.
Next week (lit. 'in the week that is coming') I will have turned 50.

dar i morgų ar werið
When tomorrow has been (i.e. 'the day after tomorrow').

7.2.6 The pluperfect tense

As in English, the pluperfect tense is used by combining the past tense form of *åvå* 'have' with the supine.

7.2.6.1 An action preceding another action the past tense

As in English, the pluperfect denotes an action that took place before another action in the past:

> **Mes ig add feð upå smiðwindn, såg ig eð kam twer biler.**
> After I had gone up to the smith's attic, I saw two cars coming.

> **Mes ig add faið upp bö'n og si'tt um puteller war ieler, so gard ig ien duktig brasu.**
> After I managed to open the rucksack to see if the bottles were unbroken, I lit a good fire.

7.2.6.2 An action completed in the past

The pluperfect can also denote an action or a state that began and was still ongoing in the past:

> **I går addum wįð weð djipter i ti år.**
> Yesterday we were married for 10 years.

7.2.6.3 Unreal situations

When expressing unreal situations or actions in the past, the pluperfect subjunctive is used in both clauses (see Section 7.2.8.2).

7.2.7 Expressing future

There are three ways of expressing actions or events taking place in the future: 1) by using the present tense, 2) with the help of the verb *ula* in the present + the infinitive, or 3) with the help of the verb *kumå* in the present + the infinitive marker *tä* + the infinitive.

7.2.7.1 Through the present tense

The use of the present tense has a sense of intention or prediction:

> **Ig rindjer (að) dig sienera.**
> I will call you later.

> **Duktern kumb i morgų.**
> The doctor will come tomorrow.

> **Eð werd kolt i nåt.**
> It will be cold tonight (lit. 'It becomes cold tonight').

7.2.7.2 With the verb ula

This structure has a sense of promise or commitment when used in the first and second persons. In the third person, it often conveys prediction; for example:

> **Ig al lat bli go daiti an gardn.**
> I will stop going to that farm.
>
> **Ig will it an al leså buotję main uondlost.**
> I don't want people to read (lit. 'he will read') my book carelessly.
>
> **Nų ir eð bar tä baið um eð al werd luvlit stjuot nån sturbrind.**
> Now one should just wait for it to be permitted (lit. 'that it will be permitted') to shoot a big moose.

7.2.7.3 Expressing the future of the past

The future of the past is expressed by *ula* 'will' in the past tense + the infinitive:

> **An lit an ulld åk iem ien gambellaðu frå Sturmåyr.**
> He said he was going to transport an old box to his place from Sturmåyr.
>
> **Swen willd ulldum settj uoss å ien blot tauv.**
> Swen wanted us to sit down (lit. 'wanted we would sit down') on a soft tuft of grass.

7.2.8 Moods

Thus far, the indicative mood has been accounted for. The indicative conveys factual statements, positive beliefs or questions. This section accounts for two more Elfdalian moods, the imperative and the subjunctive.

7.2.8.1 Imperative

The imperative expresses a command or piece of advice. In Elfdalian, it is used in the second person singular and plural and the first person plural.

> **Wari taimstyöð sę!**
> Be.2SG punctual! Make sure you are on time!

<u>Fyið</u> iem mig.
Join.2PL me on my way home

In the first person plural the imperative has a hortative modality, that is, an exhortation or encouragement to the subject:

<u>Farum</u> fel sos bellum.
Let's do our best (lit. 'as we can'). We should do our best (lit. 'as we can').

<u>Goum/gomm</u> iem nụ!
Let's go home now!

A mild urge or command can be expressed by *ula* in the present, first or second person plural + infinitive:

<u>Ulum dalska</u>.
Let's speak Elfdalian.

<u>Ulið twå ið</u> um nevå.
Wash.2PL your hands. You should.2PL wash your hands.

7.2.8.2 Subjunctive

The subjunctive mood expresses wishes, doubts, politeness, conditions or unreal situations and actions. For the conjugation of the subjunctive, see Section 7.1.

The subjunctive of other verbs is formed with the auxiliary verb *åvå* or *må*.

1) Wishes

<u>Måtт</u> ið far raingen.
May it begin to rain.

<u>Måttið</u> winn dait inną ið staindjer.
May you make it there before it closes.

2) Polite or mild phrasing

Ig <u>edd byövt</u> myöleð.
I would need some flour.

Ig <u>edd</u> so djienn <u>wilað</u> sją ien suolniðgaungg.
I would so much like to see a sunset.

3) Conditions in the present:

Ig wär nyögd um ig edd funneð att sykkeln.
I would be content if I found the bike.

Um ig wär liðun, edd ig fygt.
If I had time, I would have joined in.

Ið edd å it gart.
This she would not do.

Ig edd tykkt ruolit sjå, um ig edd dugåð tem dauvur.
I would think it would be amusing to see if I could tame the doves.

4) Hypothetical actions or events in the past:

When expressing conditions in the past, the pluperfect subjunctive is used in both the subordinate, condition, clause, as well as the main, consequence, clause. If the particle *að* is *not* used before the supine,[26] it is not known whether the consequence did take place or not. However, if the particle *að* is inserted before the supine, it is certain that the consequence did *not* take place.

In the following sentence, which lacks *að* before the supine, it is unknown whether the condition took place, and hence it is likewise unknown whether the consequence took place:

Um buðkullą edd brågåð, edd byönn slaið til.
If the summer pasture girl moved, the bear would strike.

In the following two sentences, which contain *að* before the supine, the condition was not realised, and hence, it is certain that the consequence did *not* take place:

Um buðkullą edd að brågåð, edd byönn að slaið til.
If the summer pasture girl had moved, the bear would have struck.

Ið edd að uorteð mitjið laingger weg, um eddum að ulað go westrum sjunn og daitą Wasslbrunę.
It would have been a much longer way if we had to go west of the lake and the whole way to the bridge on the Vasslan river.

[26] This is a side form of the supine of *åvå 'have'*, which is always unstressed and only used with the subjunctive mood with *edde/eddum/eddið* and the supine.

7.2.9 Voice

Mainly the active voice has been accounted for so far, that is, utterances where the subject acts upon the head verb in the clause. This section accounts for the two other voices in Elfdalian – the passive one and the reflexive one.

Moreover, the deponent and reciprocal forms of the verb are accounted for.

7.2.9.1 Passive, reflexive, deponent and reciprocal

As opposed to the active voice, in the passive voice, the subject is acted on by the verb and the agent is the one performing the action. The passive can be expressed by two different structures: 1) the conjugated verb *werda* + past participle, which is the most common structure; 2) the passive *-s* suffix added to the verb. The use of the one rather than the other is not always predictable.

Note that structures involving the verb *wårå* + past participle convey the meaning of a state and are used like adjectives (e.g. 'the house was built') (see Section 4.1).

Kalln <u>måler</u> auseð.
The man is painting.PRS.3SG.ACT the house.

Auseð <u>werd målað/måles</u> åv kallem.
The house is being painted.PRS.3SG.PASS by the man.

Here are some examples of the passive voice in different tenses:

- *Auseð <u>werd målað</u>*. or: *Auseð <u>måles</u>*. 'The house is being painted.' PRS.3SG.PASS.
- *Auseð <u>wart målað</u>*. or: *Auseð <u>måles</u>*. 'The house was painted.' PST.3SG.PASS.
- *Ausę <u>wart målaðer</u>*. or: *Ausę <u>måles</u>*. 'The houses were painted.' PST.3PL.PASS.
- *Auseð <u>ar uorteð målað</u>*. or: *Auseð <u>ar målas</u>*. 'The house has been painted.' PST.3SG.PASS.
- *Auseð <u>al werd målað</u>*. or: *Auseð <u>al målas</u>*. 'The houses have been painted.' FUT.3SG.PASS.

Some examples of the passive voice:

Ig fuor <u>werd intressirað</u> i släktn menner.
I began to be interested in my family.

Summt åv dyö <u>wart innspilåð</u>.
Some of it was recorded.

Severin Solders ser tjyörtjbaureð <u>wart byggt</u> firi Gustav Wasaes tið.
Severin Solders says that the church storage house was built before Gustav Vasa's time.

Frost-Swen <u>add</u> apt riseð og <u>uorteð festörd</u>.
Frost-Swen had rickets and was devastated.

Dier skaffeð sig nån juordbit, dar so löndes better <u>painas</u> min juord og krytyr.
They got themselves a piece of land there, where it was more profitable to work with land and animals.

An klov pertur að ollum ausum so byövd <u>takas</u>.
He split the stocks for all houses that needed roofs (lit. 'to be roofed').

Deponent verbs are such expressing an active voice, but have a form with the '*-s* passive', for example, *finnas* 'there to be', *fåtås* 'lack; be missing', *lainggtas* 'long (for something/someone)', *minnas* 'remember', *räðas* 'be afraid of', *stypplas* 'stumble', *undras å* 'wonder', *ụogås* 'take care of', as well as *uppas/upås* 'hope'.

Reciprocal verbs are sometimes formed by adding *-s*, for example, *fya* 'follow' → *fyas* 'go/walk along with each other', *jåpa* 'help' → *jåpas að* 'help each other' *råka* 'meet' → *råkas* 'meet each other', *ära* 'hear' → *äras* 'hear from each other, talk to each other'.

The passive *-s* suffix is attached to the equivalent active root form in order to form the *-s* passive or deponent voice; either it ends in a consonant or a vowel, or it has a inflectional suffix or ends in a radical:

*kumb.*PRS.SG.ACT 'come'	→	*kumbs.*PRS.SG.DEP 'reach; manage to enter; manage to'
*stiäl.*PRS.SG.ACT 'steal'	→	*stiäls.*PRS.SG.DEP 'sneak'
*spyr.*PRS.SG.ACT 'ask'	→	*spyrs.*PRS.SG.DEP 'become known, turn out'
*mål̨a.*INF.ACT 'paint'	→	*mål̨as.*INF.PASS 'be painted'
*liedde.*PST.SG.DEP, PST.3PL.DEP 'lead'	→	*lieddes.*PST.SG.PASS, PST.3PL.PASS 'was led'
*ärde.*PST.SG.ACT, PST.3PL.ACT 'heard'	→	*ärdes.*PST.SG.PASS, PST.3PL.PASS 'was heard'
**upum*[27]	→	*upums.*PRS.IPL.DEP 'we hope'

[27] This verb is not used in the active voice.

When the inflected active form ends in *ð* or *r*, the final consonant is replaced by *-s* to form the passive:

måler.PRS.SG ACT 'paint'	→	*måles*.PRS.SG.PASS 'is painted'
måleð.PST.SG.ACT, PST.3PL.ACT 'painted'	→	*måles*.PST.SG.PASS, PST.3PL.PASS 'was painted'
stiälið.PRS.2PL.ACT 'you steal'	→	*stiälis* 'you sneak'.PRS.2PL.DEP
fið.PRS.SG.ACT 'find'	→	*finns* 'is found; there is' PR.SG.PASS/DEP

When the inflected active form ends in the radical *ð* or *t*, the last consonant assimilates with the *s* and creates an overlong syllable in the passive *-s* form:

stuoð.PST.SG.ACT 'stood'	→	*stuo'ss*.PST.SG.DEP 'managed to stand upright'
bait.PRS.SG.ACT 'bite'	→	*bai'ss*.PRS.SG.DEP 'bite'
biet.PST.SG.ACT 'bit'	→	*bie'ss*.PST.SG.DEP 'bit'

In weak verbs belonging to the third and fifth classes, the supine *-s* passive is formed by replacing the *-e* of the past tense form by *-as*:

ärde.PST.SG.ACT, PST.3PL.ACT 'heard'	→	*ärdas*.SUP 'heard'[28]
tjyöpte.PST.SG.ACT, PST.3PL.ACT 'bought'	→	*tjyöptas*.SUP 'bought'

Note that the few verbs from the third class whose suffix is a voiced consonant with alternative past tense forms ending in *-te* use this alternative form to form the supine of the *-s* passive:

kennde/kennte.PST.SG.ACT, PST.3PL.ACT 'felt'	→	*kenntas*.SUP 'felt'
syntes.PST.SG.PASS, PST.3PL.PASS 'was seen; was visible'	→	*syntas*.SUP.PASS 'seen; been visible'

Verbs belonging to the third and fifth classes in the present tense, first person plural and second person plural acquire an *-es before* the person

[28] Note that some verbs with *-de* acquire the suffix *-tas* in the supine, e.g. *minnde* 'remembered' PST. SG → *minntas* PST.PART, *kennde* 'knew' PST.SG → *kenntas* PST.PART.

endings, that is, *fyas* 'walk together' → *fygdesum*.PST.IPL.DEP, *fygdesið*.PST.2PL.DEP.

Some examples of the use of the *s*-passive form:

> **Målnindję add <u>nęttas åv</u>.**
> The painting had been worn off.
>
> **Dier add įt older ärt <u>tålås</u> um Wall og Tuovu.**
> They had never heard (lit. 'be spoken') about Walle and Tuova.

Some examples of the use of the deponent:

> **Pär <u>undres å</u> ukan dukter du anliter.**
> Pär is wondering which doctor you are consulting.
>
> **Norskärrn <u>add</u> rai'tt að stikån að sturböem og <u>kleðras åv</u> uppter åm.**
> The Norwegian gentleman raised the ladder against the huge rucksack and climbed up on it.
>
> **Nođ fremmand <u>ar</u> int <u>syntas til</u> enn i dag.**
> No guests have yet showed up (lit. 'haven't been visible') yet today.
>
> **Ig <u>syöks</u> it <u>kumås</u> sai nođ.**
> I (apparently) didn't manage to say anything.
>
> **Kanstji <u>eddum</u> bellt <u>råkas</u> i morgų atte?**
> Perhaps we could meet tomorrow again?
>
> **<u>Fygdesum að</u> umstađ råk Nordqvist.**
> We left together to meet Nordqvist.
>
> **Sę <u>stjildesum</u> wįð fel <u>að</u>.**
> Then we said goodbye to each other.

7.2.9.2 Reflexive

The reflexive voice is used in verbs whose direct object is the same as their subject, such as *twå sig* 'wash; wash oneself'. This voice is much more common in Elfdalian than in English; see also *rait sig* 'rise' (lit. 'raise oneself') and *kringg sig* 'hurry up'. The verbs are conjugated with the head verb joined by the reflexive pronouns (see Section 5.3). For example, the reflexive verb of *twå sig* 'wash (oneself)' conjugates like this:

ig twär mig 'I wash (myself)'
du twär dig 'you.SG wash (yourself)'
an/ą̊/eð twär sig 'he/she/it washes (him/her/itself)'
twå'mm uoss 'we wash (ourselves)'
twåið ið 'you.PL wash (yourselves)'
dier twå sig 'they wash (themselves)'

Some examples of the use of the reflexive:

Rait upp dig!
Rise!

Dier djipt sig mes dier war ungger.
They got married (lit. 'married themselves') when they were young.

7.2.10 Modal verbs and modality

Modality is often expressed with the help of modal verbs in Elfdalian. Such verbs may express: ability and willingness (*dynamic modality*); necessity and obligation (*deontic modality*); the speaker's knowledge and certainty about the proposition (*epistemic modality*); and the speaker's source of information, that is, personally experienced or observed by the speaker or reported by someone else (*evidential modality*).

Modal verbs are commonly used with the head verb in the infinite form:

Bellum djärå ien luku i tatj̨.
We can make.INF a shutter in the roof (dynamic modality).

Ig wart fel luvå åm ig willd fesyötj.
I had to promise.INF him that I wanted to try (deontic modality).

Itjä lärd ą̊ wåra̧ so gåmål.
She was probably.INF not so old (epistemic modality).

Dier lär fel far swaið uvliuo'tt.
They are allegedly beginning.INF to feel strong pain (i.e. not experienced or witnessed by the speaker) (evidential modality).

More rarely, the head verb is in a finite, rather than infinite, form in verbal phrases containing a modal auxiliary verb:

Ð<u>ð</u> <u>iess wart</u> fektut.
It is said to have become.PST.SG hectic.

An <u>lärd skrämmd</u> brott diem.
He probably (the verb *lär*).PST.SG scared.PST.SG them away.

Some of the most frequent modal verbs are: *bella* 'be able to (have the possibility, usually owing to external circumstances)', *byöva* 'need', *dugå* 'be able; manage to; succeed', *fą̊* 'may, be allowed to', *fą̊ luv* 'have to, must', *iettas* 'should; pretend; make believe', *kunna* 'know how to, be able to; may, might (due to external circumstances)', *luss* 'appears to, seems to' (contrary to expectation), *luss wåråå* 'make (a show) as if ', *lär*[29] 'ascribing the speaker's reservation or (high) probability to the proposition; denoting a reportative modality (i.e. what is alleged, said to be)', *mą̊* renders the head verb a sense of unclarity or wish, or something that appears to be or happen in a certain way,[30] *syöks* 'appear, seem',[31] ascribing a probability to the proposition; ascribing a proposition that almost took place, *tykkas* 'appear, make believe; or denoting reportative modality (i.e. what is alleged, said to be)', *ula* 'will; shall; please',[32] *wila* 'want', *werda* 'must; become'.

Some examples of the use of modal auxiliary verbs:

1) *wila* 'want'

a. Expressing will (want, would like):

Ig <u>willd</u> <u>tokk</u> dig fer sienest.
I wanted to thank you for the last time.

<u>Will</u> du <u>åvå</u> iet eppel?
Do you want/would you like to have an apple?

b. Expressing future, or future of the past:

Ð<u>ð</u> sir aut <u>will</u> <u>werd</u> raingneð.
It seems as if it will rain (lit. 'there wants to become rain').

Ð<u>ð</u> sir aut so eð <u>edd</u> <u>wilad</u> <u>werd</u> wåtweðred.
It seems as if it will rain (lit. 'the weather would become wet').

[29] This verb is merely conjugated in the present (SG and 3PL: *lär*, 1PL: *lärum*, 2PL: *lärið*), past (SG and 3PL: *lärd*, 1PL: *lärdum*, 2PL: *lärdið*) and future (SG:*lär ula*).
[30] This verb is merely conjugated in the present (SG and 3PL: *mą̊*, 1PL: *mą̊um*, 2PL: *mą̊ið*) and past (SG and 3PL: *munde*, 1PL: *mundum*, 2PL: *mundið*).
[31] This verb is merely conjugated in the present and past tense (SG and 3PL: *syöks*, 1PL: *syöksum*, 2PL: *syöksið* in both tenses) and perfect (*syöktas*).
[32] *Ula* is used to express a mild appeal, e.g. *du al kumå* 'come.2SG (please)'.

2) *må* renders the speaker's attitude to the proposition a sense of doubt, wish (when in the past tense in the beginning of the clause) or likelihood.

Må eð war sannt?
Could.PRS it possibly be true?

Fuost tjyörtją mått að stendeð dar noger.
The first church must have been there somewhere.

Mått eð far raingen.
May it begin to rain.

An mått að ferið.
He seems to have left (i.e. He has probably left).

An mått war að sårryddjem.
He seems to suffer from pain in the back.

3) *ula* 'will'

a. Future, denoting intention:

Ig al aut og fistja.
I will go fishing.

b. Denoting an urge or a mild command:

Ulið it glåmå dar jätið.
You should not talk while you're eating.

c. Denoting what should or has to take place:

Dar an al far min sturstieną ir eð int so guott sos Stokkolsärrär truo.
When one has to deal with big stones it isn't as easy as the sirs from Stockholm people think.

Ulum fel ugs Guðfaðer ụogäs slaiku.
I guess we should think that God takes care of such things.

4) *bella* 'can, have the possibility (usually owing to external circumstances), may, should' and *få luv, werda* 'have to, must':

Bellum it far å simester i januari, fer fåmm luv/werdum arbiet.
We cannot go on holidays in January, because we have to work.

Ig belld bar få að mig nån fugel milumað.
I would only manage to catch some birds from time to time (in this case, owing to weather conditions).

5) *kunna* know how to, know, be able to owing to physical ability; succeed, manage to:

Påytjin ir bar fem, men kann rież simma.
The boy is only five, but he already knows how to swim.

6) *dugå* 'know how to, know, be able to owing to physical ability; succeed, manage to (in spite of a hindrance)':

Dug du it brågå finggrum?
Aren't you able to move your fingers?

An so will fą ien förestellningg um ur fuotjeð åvå byggt og livåð fer mikklų undrað år sę i Skandinavien syöks it dugå finn inggan plass so ir iemte min Äðbuðum.
The one who wishes to have an idea of how people used to live many centuries ago in Scandinavia probably won't manage to find any other place that is equal to Äðbuðär.

7) *fą* 'may, be allowed to; get to':

Jen fąr an it rötja.
Here, one is not allowed to smoke.

Finggum it dalsk i skaulam.
We were not allowed to speak Elfdalian in school.

Fąr ig ev aut kåvin i dag?
May I release the calf today?

Sę fikk ig sją iet mannfuok.
Then I got to see a man.

In the present, first person plural, it may also be a colloquial way of expressing the intention of the first person, singular or plural:

Fåmm är ą.
Let me hear; let's hear.

Fåmm sją ur du far.
Let me/us see how you are behaving.

Fåmm ien tårtbit til!
Let me/us have another piece of cake!

8) *lär* expresses reservation, or probability to the proposition. Alternatively, it implies that the proposition is alleged or reported:

a. Expressing a careful reservation to the proposition or its probability:

Itjä <u>lärd</u> ą <u>wåra</u> so gåmål.
She was probably not so old.

Ig <u>lär</u> <u>fą</u> <u>tork</u> og <u>gem att</u> distjin.
I guess I should wipe the dishes and put them inside.

Ð ir kweldn og eð <u>lär ul werd</u> kollt.
It is evening and it appears like it will get cold.

<u>Lärum</u> fel <u>ul bärg</u> uoss.
We will probably manage.

b. Reported action:

An <u>lär</u> <u>að</u> <u>uort</u> kuorpral an-dar nų.
He is said to have become a corporal now.

Å <u>lär</u> <u>ul fą</u> ien kripp.
She is said to be expecting a child.

9) *syöks* expresses the following denotations:

a. what appears or seems to be happening:

Dukterär <u>syöks</u> it <u>witå</u> ur dier ul bjärå sig að fer tä war naug diävluger mųot mig.
Apparently, the doctors don't know what to do (lit. 'how they should behave') in order to be devilish enough towards me (said ironically).

Ig <u>syöks</u> it <u>dugå stand og arbiet</u> so launggų tag.
I don't seem to manage to be standing to work for such long periods of time.

b. an action almost or hardly taking place. This verb is frequent and is used as follows:

Ig war so autferin, so ig <u>syöks kąk upp</u>.
I was so worn out, so I was about to die (or: so I almost died).

Ig <u>syöks</u> it <u>uork</u> <u>węs</u> dyö.
I can hardly even breathe.

10) *iettas* expresses probability to the proposition or 'should; pretend; make believe'.

Suomą, ig <u>iess</u> <u>åvå</u>, minsker.
The sum, that I allegedly have, is decreasing.

<u>Iessum</u> fel <u>djäv uoss åv</u>.
We should set off.

Ulåv <u>iess</u> <u>wil</u> juåt og <u>jåp til</u>.
Ulåv makes believe he wants to come here and help.

11) *tykkas* expresses what allegedly is or happens; 'should; pretend; make believe'.

Og sę, mes-n tykks að gaið autmin övin, so <u>tykks</u>-n <u>að faið sjå</u> nog guonnu, og å <u>tykks að kweðið</u> so fer krytyrum.
And then, when he was allegedly walking alongside the river, he observed a siren of the woods (a mythical creature), and she was singing this way for the animals.[33]

7.2.11 Multiple verb structures

Besides structures with modal or auxiliary verbs, where two verbs follow each other, usually without *tä*, two or multiple verb structures are used in abbreviated clauses when the second verb expresses the intention or consequence of doing something (see also Section 7.2.2.2). In such cases, the first verb is finite and the second one is in the infinitive. Between them *og* (lit. 'and') is inserted:

An ar <u>kumið</u> daitter og <u>jätå</u>.
He came there (in order) to eat.

An <u>fuor</u> daitað Andes <u>og kast</u> pilum.
He went to Anders (in order) to shoot arrows.

Ig <u>al aut og fistja</u>.
I'll go (out) fishing.

Ig saggd, å <u>fikk luv og war iem og ụogås</u>, um eð kam nað bisyök.
I said that she had to be at home and be available, in case someone came to visit.

[33] In this sentence, *tykkas* indicates that the proposition was conveyed according to hearsay.

7.2.12 The use of *tä*

The infinitive marker *tä* is usually omitted in Elfdalian.[34] With most modal verbs it cannot be used, and in a few constructions it is obligatory (see also Sections 7.2.2 and 7.2.10):

1) In clauses where the infinitive phrase functions as a complement of the subject and expresses what is proper or necessary:

   Eð ir fel <u>tä</u> tjyöp mįer um eð rekk it.
   One should just buy more if it is insufficient (lit. 'It is just to buy more' etc.).

   Eð war it <u>tä</u> war ųolyðun fuoreldrum ån tiðę.
   It was indeed not proper to be disobedient towards one's parents at that time (lit. 'It was not to be disobedient' etc.).

2) In some fixed constructions, such as **<u>tä</u> (far) byr min** 'to begin with, in the beginning':

   Kåvin war sakt liteð baunggstyrun <u>tä</u> byr min.
   The calf was a little unmanageable to begin with.

7.2.13 Phrasal verbs and verb particles

In this section, the IPA stress mark ' is used to show the stress. Note that this sign is not used otherwise in written Elfdalian.

Phrasal verbs consist of verbs with particles, for example, *ell 'auti, ev 'auti* 'pour (lit. 'inside'); put (lit. 'inside')', *gamblas 'åv* 'become old', *rekken 'aut* 'calculate', *sai 'upp* 'give somebody the sack, fire', *tag 'att* 'get hold of'. In the finite forms of the verb, the particle comes after the verb (see examples below).

Many Elfdalian particles are homonymous to prepositions and adverbs. However, they form a phrasal verb together with the verb and have a different semantic value than the sum of its components, for example, *kuogå ą̊* (verb with a preposition) 'look at' versus *är 'ą̊* (verbal phrase governing a direct object) 'listen'; *rekken* 'count', *aut* 'out' (direction towards), but *rekken 'aut* 'calculate'. If the semantic value is the sum of its components, as in *ev 'aut* 'throw out; throw away', *aut* would rather be considered an adverb of space, although the border is not always clear-cut.

[34] *Te* is a regional variant of the infinitive marker.

An al <u>ev</u> <u>'auti</u> anis og finis.
One should put anise and fennel inside.

Ig <u>add</u> <u>'aut</u> pannų i jäldn.
I threw the pan away into the fire.

Nų ulið fel <u>rekken</u> <u>'aut</u> summų.
Now you should calculate the sum.

Al du <u>är</u> <u>'å</u> musitjin boð du og?
Will you, too, listen to the music?

The clausal adverb occurs between the verb and the particle:

<u>Ev</u> it <u>'upp</u> å-dar lukų.
Don't open that door.

In participles, the particle becomes the first part of a compound:

Tjyöteð war it <u>attagend</u>.
The meat was not usable.PRS.PART (infinitive: *tag 'att*)

Wartum <u>uppsaggder</u>.
We got fired.PRS.PART (infinitive: *sai 'upp*)

The infinitive form of many frequent, short-syllabled verbs often undergo an apocope in phrasal verbs, in which case they also lose their vowel harmony in the infinitive (thus deviating from the apocope rule, which normally applies in long-syllabled words), for example, *djävå + aut > djäv 'aut* 'publish', *djärå + upp > djär 'upp* 'prepare', and *fårå + yvyr > far 'yvyr* 'busy oneself with, be doing something' and *kumå + jųot > kum jųot* 'come here'. This process may sometimes take place in verbs occurring with a direct object, for example, *leså* + direct object > *les*, as in *Inger ar sett sig og les Wikupuostn* 'Inger took a seat and (began to) read the *Weekly Post*'.

In phrasal verbs, the particle usually carries the main stress:

kuok.INF *'in* 'preserve (fruits or vegetables)' (apocopated infinite form)
ig kuoker.PRS.SG *'in* 'I preserve' (unapocopated finite form)

However, in apocopated finite forms, the main stress moves to the verb:

dier 'kuok[35].PRS3.PL *in* 'They preserved' (apocopated finite form)
ig 'kuokt[36].PST.SG *in* 'I preserved' (apocopated finite form)

See also Section 2.5.3.4.

Verbs with particles often govern the same case as the equivalent head verbs without the particles, for example, *ära* 'hear', *är ǫ̨* 'listen' + accusative, *glemma* 'forget', *glemm åv* 'forget' (more common) + dative, *eva* 'get rid of something; place', *ev aut* 'throw' + accusative (see also Section 7.3). However, *saia* 'say' governs the accusative case for the direct object, whereas *sai åv* 'tell' governs the dative case for the direct object. As to the particles themselves, they usually do not appear to determine the case of the direct object; for example, *åv* as a preposition governs the dative case, but *åv* as a particle in *tag åv* 'take off' governs the accusative rather than the dative case, just as the verb *tågå* 'take'.

7.2.14 Particles expressing a lexical aspect ('aktionsart')

Elfdalian verb particles may help modify the lexical aspect of the verb. Some particles denote the completion of the action; for example, *jätå* 'eat' *and jät upp* 'eat up' and *öð åv* 'destroy; kill'.

In some cases, particles don't change the aspect of the verbs; for example, *teppa* 'close' and *tep att* 'close' (where *att* literally means 'again; back'), *spyra* 'ask' → *spyr etter* 'ask' (*etter* 'after').

Other particles switch the focus of the verb on the result rather than the process of the action, for example, the particle *att*, as in *lęsa* 'lock' and *lęs att* 'lock' (with more focus on the result). Note also *knåyta* 'tie; fasten' → *knåyt att* 'tie up', *staindja* 'close' → *staindj att* 'shut; lock', *snaia* 'snow', *attrumsni'n* 'snowed over; covered with snow'.PST.PART. With other verbs, the particle *att* points out the intentionality of the action, for example, *finna* 'search; find; happen to find' → *finn att* 'search after something specific; search and find'.

Example:

Rut ar <u>funneð att</u> peninggpundjin.
Ruth found the man's purse (i.e. that she was intentionally looking for).

[35] The full form is *kuokte*.
[36] The full form is *kuokte*.

7.2.15 Some frequent verbs with particles

Some frequent verbs with particles are listed here. Note that the particles are stressed, as opposed to prepositions.

- *baið um* 'wait; expect'
- *baið yr* 'being incapable of waiting any longer, give up one's patience'
- *biuoð til* 'try, attempt'
- *brågå i* 'move'
- *byr å* 'begin'
- *djäv upp* 'give up'
- *ell i* 'pour'
- *go að* 'take, demand (time, material, etc.)'
- *els å* 'visit'[37]
- *ev aut* 'throw away'
- *fest i* 'turn on (light, lamp, etc.)'
- *far umstað* 'leave, set off'
- *glemm åv* 'forget'
- *go til* 'happen; evolve'
- *far/fåråå yvyr* 'go through (a text, etc.)'
- *fåråå ringgum* 'be engaged or occupied in something'
- *få i* 'get hold of'
- *få luv* 'must, have to'
- *få til* 'managed, succeed'
- *glemm åv* 'forget'
- *jät upp* 'eat up'
- *kumå att* 'return'
- *kumå til* 'be born'
- *nå að* 'reach'
- *old å* 'be in the course of'
- *rekken aut* 'calculate'
- *ryör i* 'mix'
- *sai upp* 'fire (somebody)'
- *sai åv* 'tell'
- *set å* 'put something on (e.g. coffee)'

[37] Note that this verb includes a particle, i.e. *å* is stressed, as opposed to *els å* with å as a preposition, meaning 'greet'.

- *sjå etter* 'check'
- *sjå um* 'look after, attend to'
- *sjå upp* 'be careful'
- *skät å* 'add; fill up; prolong; postpone'
- *spyr etter* 'ask'
- *staig i* 'put on (one's footwear)'
- *tag att* 'make use of something'
- *tag rieð å* 'find out'
- *tag åv* 'take on (clothes, etc.)'
- *tag å* 'take off (clothes, etc.)'
- *tep upp* 'open'
- *tep att* 'close'
- *tyttj um* 'like; love'
- *undras å* 'wonder'
- *yöp til* 'exclaim'
- *är å* 'listen; check; ask'

Wiso byrd du å lär dig dalska?
Why did you start learning Elfdalian (*dalska* lit. 'to speak Dalecarlian')?

Wepin wiss it ur eð add bellt go til slaikt.
The puppy didn't know how it could have evolved this way.

Ig fuor upyr legun og set å mig klautą.
I got out of bed and put my clothes on.

'Friuos du um fuotą?' brukeð munur dieras spyr etter.
'Are your feet cold?' their mothers used to ask.

Ulåv teppt att dörum liuotfesiktut.
Ulåv closed the door very carefully.

7.3 Verbs and their arguments

Elfdalian has different verb patterns from a syntactic angle. Verbs may be copulative or require arguments. The subject is the default verb argument. Additionally, arguments in the form of predicative complements may be added – the direct, indirect object or object of a preposition, as well as the adverbial. Although the subject is usually expressed explicitly in Elfdalian, in some cases it is implicit within the verb (see Section 7.4).

The following verb types can be discerned:

1) Copular verbs
   Copular verbs have the predicative nominal, predicative adjective or adverbial as the complement of the verb, for example, *Kullą ietter Emma* 'The girl's name is (or 'is called') Emma', *Ig wart iwari ur yrmerkt övdalską ir* 'I became aware of how distinctive Elfdalian is', *Ur gåmål ig ir!* 'How old I am!' and *Warum in að Andes Åhs åv og til* 'We passed by Andes Åhs' place for a short while'.
2) Intransitive verbs require one argument, the subject, for example, *Kunindjin kumb* 'The king is coming'. Some verbs omit the actual subject in interrogative clauses, for example, *Wen lit?* 'What was that sound (lit. 'What sounded?')?'
3) Transitive verbs require two arguments, of which one is the complement, that is, the subject plus the direct object, for example, *Å ärd Masse* 'She heard Masse' (where *Masse* is the direct object), or the preposition object, for example, *Að war liuottrivlit glåmå min dig* 'It was very nice talking to you' (where *min dig* is the preposition object). See also Section 7.4.
4) Ditransitive verbs require three arguments: the subject, and two complements – the direct, indirect object or object of a preposition, for example, *An gav kelindjin*.F.DAT.SG.DEF *nykklą*.M.ACC.PL.DEF. 'He gave the keys to his wife (lit. 'to the wife')'. Here, *kelindjin* 'wife' is the indirect object, whereas *nykklą* is the direct object.

7.3.1 Verbs governing the accusative and dative

Often, the case marks the type of the object: the accusative case marks the direct object of the transitive verb, whereas the dative case marks the indirect object of the ditransitive verb. For example:

Ig ar <u>tụo krippa</u>.
I have two children.ACC.PL.

An gav <u>estum</u> wattneð.
He gave the horse.DAT water.

These are some frequently used verbs whose indirect objects are rendered by the dative case:

- *bitala* ‘pay (to someone)’
- *biuoða* ‘invite; treat; offer (someone)’
- *djävå* ‘give (to someone)’
- *jåpa* ‘help (someone)’
- *luvå* ‘promise (someone)’
- *naika* ‘deny (someone)’
- *rettja* ‘hand over (to someone)’
- *stjaintja* ‘give, donate (to someone)’
- *stjikka* ‘send (to someone)’
- *suorå* ‘answer (someone)’
- *tokka* ‘thank (someone)’
- *waisa* ‘show (someone)’

Some verbs governing the dative for the indirect object are listed in the following examples:

Nų dug ig it bital <u>åm</u>.
Now I am not able to pay him.

Dier buoð <u>uoss</u> bermuoseð.
They offered us some lingonberry jam.

An gav <u>kelindjin</u> nykklą.
He gave some keys (or ‘the keys’) to his wife (lit. ‘to the wife’).

An jåp <u>ollum</u> so kumå.
He helps all those who come.

Skuollärern waist <u>krippum</u> stieną.
The schoolteacher showed the children some stones (or ‘the stones’).

The dative case is used with an action directed at the body parts of the subject, when the verb only has one object:

An blakker/kringgler <u>ogum</u>.
He’s blinking/rolling his eyes.

An brägär <u>tö’mm</u>.
He is moving his toes.

Klapp <u>nevum</u> mųot weroðrum.
Clap your hands together (lit. ‘towards each other’).

Rattjin swisker <u>rumpun</u>.
The dog wags its tail.

Fåmm wail ärum liteð.
Let's rest our ears for a while.

Note that some verbs change the form of their direct object from the accusative case, or sometimes a prepositional phrase, into the dative, when the object consists of the subject's own body parts:

An spann an.
He kicked him.ACC.

An kå'ytt og spann fuotum.
He was running and kicking his legs.DAT.

Dier skar i tjyöteð.
He cut the meat.

Dier skar tannum.
They gnashed their teeth.DAT.

Ig al aut og brågå i estem.
I shall go out to put my horse in motion (lit. 'move my horse').

An brägär tö'mm.
He is moving his toes.DAT.

7.3.2 Frequent verbs governing the dative

In addition to its common use with the indirect object, the dative case is moreover used with the direct object in around 300 verbs. It is usually not predictable from the verb whether it would govern the accusative or the dative case for the direct object. However, some tendencies can be observed; for example, dative is often used with verbs meaning 'throw', such as *winda, enda, kasta*,[38] or verbs with an instrumental object, for example, *rindja klukkum* 'ring the bells', as well as verbs with body parts belonging to the subject, for example, *swisk rumpun* 'wag (one's) tail', as mentioned earlier.

[38] Note that *ev aut* 'throw away' governs the accusative, just as the head verb *eva* 'put, place'.

These are some frequent verbs whose direct object is rendered by the dative case:

- *baiða* 'wait; expect'
- *blanda* 'mix'
- *byta* 'exchange'
- *diela* 'divide'
- *draita* 'defecate'
- *djätå* 'mention'
- *ela* 'kill'
- *enda* 'throw'
- *ender* 'change'
- *faingen* 'delight'
- *festöra* 'destroy'
- *flytta* 'move, displace'
- *fya* 'follow; go along (with someone); go (by means of transport)'
- *fylla* 'turn (about age, where the years take the dative case)'
- *fåtås* 'miss, lack'
- *gęta* 'observe; gaze'
- *glemma* 'forget'
- *gą̊* 'notice; observe'
- *kasta* 'throw'
- *lupta* 'smell'
- *lyða* 'obey'
- *lypta* 'lift'
- *lysa* 'shine; light'
- *lågå* 'repair'
- *minska* 'decrease, lessen; decline'
- *myöta* 'meet'
- *mörda* 'murder'
- *ną̊* 'reach'
- *olda* 'hold'
- *plantir* 'plant'
- *rekk til* 'suffice'
- *rwaiða* 'wring, turn, twist'
- *ryöra* 'move'
- *råða* 'advise; manage'
- *sai åv* 'tell (stories etc.)'
- *sakken* 'miss; long for'
- *skåðå* 'damage'

- *sleppa* ‘release’
- *småkå* ‘taste’
- *spilla* ‘spill; waste’
- *stella* ‘set (about clock), adjust; place’
- *stell til* ‘arrange, organise; make (a mess or alike)’
- *stoppa* ‘put, place’
- *syta* ‘take care of, babysit’
- *tappa* ‘lose’
- *tep att* ‘close’
- *tep för* ‘close’
- *tep upp* ‘open’
- *ţogås* ‘take care of’
- *uorka* ‘manage to; be able to; have the energy to’
- *winda* ‘throw’
- *winna* ‘have time for something, manage timewise’
- *yppen* ‘open’
- *waila* ‘rest’
- *åka* ‘drive; freight’
- *öð åv* ‘destroy; kill’

Notes:

- *fåtås*: the argument that lacks something takes the dative, e.g. *Wen fätäs kallem*.DAT? ‘What is the man lacking?’
- *lupta*: in this case, an adjective in the dative describes how something smells, for example, *Eð lupter guoðu.*DAT ‘It smells good’.
- *minska*: the argument that decreases is in the dative.
- *olda*: note that *olda* in the meaning ‘arrange’ governs the accusative, for example, *Astronomin jält föredraeð sett iessn til* ‘The astronomer gave his lecture once more’.
- *småkå*: in this case, an adjective in the dative case describes how something tastes, for example, *Eð smäkär klienu.*DAT ‘It tastes bad’.

Here are some examples of the use of these verbs:

Andes, bruor ennes, brukeð fy <u>enner</u> að Uppsala milumað.
Andes, her brother, used to join her in going to Uppsala sometimes.

Ig fygd <u>skaulbussem</u> frå ţiði Ollgrav.
I went by the school bus from Ollgrav.

Um ig edd dugåð glemm åv <u>älendę</u>.
If only I could forget the misery.

Ið minskeð itåm.
The heat decreased.

Mes ig kam framterað tweråbokkam myö'tt ig ienum sturum kalle.
When I came forward to the steep hill, I met a big man.

Old ånum, du!
You, hold him (or 'take hold of him')!

Å saggd åv ymsum kumium.
She told diverse anecdotes.

Tjynär åvå skåðåð stugun.
The cows have damaged the house.

Ig ar werið auti sågbuðn og byrt å stell til ien låðu.
I have been at the saw workshop and begun to produce a box.

Afärsmann teppt upp munnem, men kam it ijug nöð saia.
The businessman shut his mouth, but couldn't think of anything to say.

An wind ienum stien að mig.
He's throwing a stone at me.

Itler ö'dd åv mjäst iel wärdn og edd fel að ö'tt åv en ið kwer war og, um an edd faið war til liteð til.
Hitler destroyed almost the whole world. And he could surely have destroyed what was left of it as well, had he stayed alive for some more time.

7.3.3 Verbs governing prepositional phrases

As in English, some Elfdalian verbs govern prepositional phrases. The choice of the preposition is not always predictable from the context, and the original meaning of the preposition is sometimes blurred or neutralised, for example, *kuogå å krippin* 'look at the kid', whereas *å* has the locative core meaning 'on'. Likewise, *baið eter krippem* 'wait for the kid', whereas *eter* usually has a temporal meaning 'after'. Moreover, prepositions, as opposed to verb particles, are most commonly unstressed.

7.3.4 Frequent verbs governing prepositional phrases

Some frequent verbs and the prepositions they usually take are listed here.

- *akudir/glåmå auti* (+DAT) 'talk about'
- *akudir/glåmå um* (+ACC) 'talk about'
- *baið eter* (+DAT) 'wait for'
- *dröm um* (+ACC) 'dream (with accusative), dream about'
- *els ą̊* (+ACC) 'greet'
- *far auti* (+DAT) 'occupy oneself with'
- *fundir auti/ringgum/ą̊* (+ACC) 'contemplate about'
- *kuogå ą̊* (+ACC) 'look at'
- *liet eter* (+DAT) 'look for'
- *sai að* (+DAT) 'tell (to someone, as a second argument)'

Notes:
- *baið eter*: note the less common *baiða* + direct object in the dative.
- *sai, sai að*: *sai nogum*.DAT or *sai að nogum*.DAT mean 'tell someone'.

Ig edd að weð rieð <u>dröm um</u> ån-dar liuotungg og snogg kullų ig tykkt um iessn.
I should have been ready to dream about that very young and good-looking girl.ACC that I used to like once.

Ig ar werið oster bymm og <u>si'tt um</u> kullų.
I went the eastern side of the village and looked after the girl.

7.3.5 Omission of the subject in verb phrases

The subject of first person plural is omitted in straight, but not in reverse word order, whereas second person plural is omitted in both positions (see also Section 12.1).

With straight word order:

<u>Fåmm</u> sakt luv råkas.
We indeed have to.1PL meet up. (straight word order)

Ig sir i kristallkaulun mun og fåder irå brygder war <u>irið</u>.
I see in my crystal ball that Mum and Dad are concerned about where you are.2PL.

Witið war <u>irið</u>?
Do you know where you are.2PL?

With reverse word order:

> **Mes Bettj-Lass og ig fuorum og settum snęrur ien ost, djinggum wįð dar eter weem.**
> When Bettj-Lass and I were going to set snares one autumn, we walked.1PL there along the road.

> **Ur wär eð, eddið wilað yr aut stugų og åvå djästą i buðum i såmår?**
> How would it be, would you like.2PL to let the cottage and have some guests in the summer pasture farms this summer?

> **Nų irið friðåðer nest uoss.**
> Now you (several people) are.2PL protected with us (i.e. 'at our place').

However, the subject is used explicitly when it is emphasised:

> **Dier åvå spuort uoss um wįð eddum bellt jåp diem fą i iet buðstell.**
> They asked us if we (and nobody else) could help them get hold of a place at a summer pasture farm.

> **An war iem og ųogäs krytyrum, men ið warið i skaulam.**
> He was at home taking care of the animals, but you were at school.

7.4 The verb phrase

The Elfdalian verb phrase consists of a finite verb, including possible complements, modifiers, possible verb particles and/or reflexive pronouns:

> **Edd eð að gaið til, so lär eð nųfel edd að werið snärest að lat bli. So edd duktrerär að faið slipp biswär sig.**
> Had it been possible, it would probably have been easier to refrain from it. Then, the doctors could have avoided bothering.

> **Nų ulið fel rekken aut suomų.**
> Now you should calculate the sum.

> **Ig ärd ą snoggt um ą willd djävå mig ien lisslan mjoksupå.**
> I asked nicely if she could give me a small spot of milk.

Ig <u>sty'dd mig attri puostausað</u>.
I was leaning (lit. 'supporting myself') against the post office (wall).

Övdalsspråtjeð <u>syöks tågå sig að kelindjin</u>.
My wife's Elfdalian (skills) seem to be improving (lit. 'The Elfdalian language seems to become better for my wife').

The verb phrase functions as the predicate in the clause:

Ig <u>uorkeð it standas noð laingger</u>.
I was not able to stand on my feet any longer.

Dier <u>war grą'll stierder</u>.
They were totally numb.

An <u>ir menn oll best wenn</u>.
He is my best friend (lit. 'my best friend of all').

7.5 The infinitive phrase

The infinitive phrase includes the infinite form of the verb as the headword and possibly likewise the infinitive marker *tä*, as well as possible complements and modifiers. However, the infinitive phrase lacks a subject of its own:

Ig får luv <u>tag åv mig tråyų</u>.
I have to take off my shirt.

Eð wär frosseri <u>tä tjyöp sig</u> og <u>tegg i sig apelsiną</u>.
It would be gluttony to buy (lit. 'for oneself') and eat (lit. 'chew into oneself') oranges.

Eð ir fel best <u>pass</u> <u>sig</u>.
It's a good idea to be cautious (lit. 'It is the best to be cautious').

The Elfdalian infinitive phrase may function as:

a) The subject:

Eð war dą guott <u>fą mjotję</u>, ukað so war.
It was good to get some milk anyhow.

Eð ir it guott <u>witå</u>.
It is not easy (lit. 'good') to know.

b) The subject complement:

Min tä 'biunder' mienes <u>tä tyttj ig ir finest, grannest klä'dd, raikest og kluokest mennistją å issum-järplanietem</u>.
By 'admiring' I mean thinking that I am the best one, the most beautifully dressed one, the richest and the smartest person on this planet.

Bifallnindję ir <u>tä slettj lampų</u>.
The order was to turn off the lamp.

c) The object:

Kalln, so ietteð Walle, willd <u>glåmå</u>.
The man, called Walle, wanted to talk.

Ig willd <u>witå, um an mund då åvå noð wit</u>.
I would want to know whether he possibly had some kind of understanding.

d) A part of the prepositional phrase:

Boa-uormär sweg ruoveð sett ielt, <u>autå tä tegg eð</u>.
Boa constrictors swallow their prey whole, without chewing it.

Ur ulld å bjärå sig að <u>fer tä få fram an-dar Masse</u>?
What did she have to do (lit. 'How did she need to behave') in order to get that Masse (a cat's name) out?

7.6 The phonology of the verb

Phonological processes play an important role in the conjugation of Elfdalian verbs (see also Section 2.5). The most common are listed below.

- *Ablaut* occurs regularly, although with different sound changes, in strong verbs, for example, *blås-* 'blow' > *blåsa*.INF, *blis*.PST.SG, *bläseð*.PST.PART.
- *Umlaut* occurs in some verbs, for example, R-umlaut in *far-* 'go' → *ferið*.PST.PART, *twå-* 'wash', *twå*.INF → *twär*.PRS.SG; *i*-umlaut in *war-* 'be' → *wäre*.SUBJ.PRS3.SG, and *adde*.PST3.SG 'had' → *edde*.SUBJ.PRS3.SG, as well as in *spuor-* 'ask' → *spyra*.INF (see also Section 2.5.6).

- *Vowel balance* occurs regularly in the suffix vowel depending on the length of the root syllable, for example, *bak-* 'bake' (SS) → *båkå*.INF and *bäkär*.PRS.SG, but *dans-* (LS) → dansa INF and *danser* PRS.SG (see also Section 2.4.1).
- *Vowel harmony* occurs regularly in short-syllabled verbs, whereby the root vowel *a* changes into *å* or *ä* through an assimilation to the vowel in the final syllable, for example, *bak-* 'bake' → *båkå*.INF → *bäkär*.PST.SG (see also Section 2.5.5).
- *Conditional apocope* occurs quite regularly when a long-syllabled verb occurs in another place than in the end of the sentence,[39] for example, *Ig fikk ev diem ini munn* 'I put them inside my mouth', in which the verb *ev* has the full infinitive form *eva* 'put' (see also Section 2.5.3.2).
- *Palatalisation* occurs regularly in the infinitive and present, when C2 is equal to *gg* or *k*, as in *bygg-* 'live, dwell' → *byddja*.INF, *byddjer*.PRS.SG, *aingg-* 'hang' → *aindja*.INF, *aindjer* PRS.SG, *tykk-* 'think, have an opinion about something' → *tyttja*.INF, *tyttjer*.PRS.SG, *fisk-* 'fish' → *fistja*.INF, *fistjer*.PRS.SG, and likewise in the supine of strong verbs, such as *tegg-* 'chew' → *tuddjeð*.SUP and *drikk-* 'drink' → *druttjeð*.SUP (see also Section 2.5.1).
- *Metathesis* occurs often in the past tense and supine forms of verbs whose C2 is equal to *sk*, for example, *fisk-* 'fish', *fistja*.INF > *fikste*.PST.SG, *fikst*.PST.PART (see also Section 2.5.8).
- *Pitch accents:* The grave accent remains in apocopated forms of the verbs, for example, *Ą̊ add (`) kumið* 'She had come', *Dier ulld (`) dans (`) i lag* 'They were going to dance together' (see also Section 2.4.2).

[39] For exceptions from this rule, see Section 2.5.3.2.

8
Adverbs and adverbials

This chapter accounts for Elfdalian adverbs and adverbials. Adverbs are adverbials consisting of merely one word, for example, *here*, whereas adverbials consist of several words, for example, *little by little.*

Adverbs and adverbials are categorised by form in the first part and by meaning and function in the second part of the chapter. The categorisation by meaning and function covers four adverb and adverbial types: circumstantial, qualifying and clause adverbs, and those that do not fit into any of those three categories.

Elfdalian is rich in compound adverbs denoting locations and directions (see also Chapter 9), a system that was prevalent in the traditional lifestyle. In that system, denotations of natural phenomena combined with nuanced direction markers were very useful. Many of them have fallen into disuse owing to changing lifestyles and the general decline in the use of the Elfdalian language. Compass points were widely used in the traditional Elfdalian society when discussing location and movement as related to natural surroundings. *Sturövę* or *Övę* (the *East Dal River*, Swe. *Österdalälven*), the river running through Övdaln, was an important landscape feature, to whose direction the compass points were adapted to a certain degree: The river flows roughly from the north-west to the south-east, but some sections flow from the west to the east. Hence, what is still today expressed as the 'west side' (Elfd. *westersaiðą*) of the river denotes the area to the north-west or north of it, while the river's 'east side' (Elfd. *ostersaiðą*) denotes the area south-east or south of the river (see Figure 1.3).

Many adverbs of manner are derived from adjectives with the suffix *-t* and are highly productive, for example, *well* 'loud' → *wellt* 'loudly'. Other adverbs can be used as attributes in the form of prefixes together with the head word, for example, *liuot-* 'very', as in *liuotbillit* 'very cheaply'.

A few Elfdalian adverbs may also function as adjectives (see Chapter 4).

As in English, some Elfdalian adverbs inflect according to degrees of comparison – positive, comparative and superlative.

8.1 Adverbs by form

This section accounts for some frequent adverbs categorised by form.

The forms of Elfdalian adverbs may vary from not having any typical formal adverbial features, such as *inte* 'not', through those having suffixes identical to adjectives in the neuter singular, such as *wellt* 'loudly' (← *well* 'loud'), to those with a typical adverbial suffix, for example, *summulund* 'likewise' (← *summu* 'same' + manner suffix *-lund*).

8.1.1 Simplex adverbs

Some simplex adverbs are cited here. This list also includes some historical compounds whose etymology is opaque, such as *older* 'never' and *bitaið* 'early (in the morning)'.

- *allt* 'certainly'
- *atte, att, atter* 'again; back'
- *bitaið* 'early'
- *brott, brotte* (direction and location respectively) 'away'
- *dan*, *dar* 'there'
- *durk* 'totally, absolutely; certainly, actually'
- *då* 'then; at least, anyhow; certainly'
- *ellest* 'otherwise'
- *enn* 'yet; still'
- *fel* conveys a speaker's attitude to the proposition, and is sometimes untranslatable, 'as you know; as we both know; probably; I guess'.
- *firi* 'before; in someone's way'
- *för* 'before, earlier'
- *inte, it, itjä* 'not'
- *ju* 'you know; of course; as we know it'
- *just* 'right, exactly, precisely'
- *jen*, *jär* 'here'
- *liteð*, *li'tt* 'a little'
- *mes* 'meanwhile'
- *mjog* 'quite, pretty'

- *mitjið* 'a lot, much'
- *mjäst* 'mostly'
- *naug* 'enough, sufficiently; certainly'
- *nų* 'now; indeed'
- *og* 'also'
- *older* 'never'
- *sę* 'then; later, afterwards; what about'
- *so* 'so, this way'
- *straks* 'immediately, right (about time)'
- *ur* 'where'
- *war* 'where'
- *wel* 'completely; well'

8.1.2 Adverbs with *-a, -u*

Many adverbs end with *-a*, some others with *-u*. Most such adverbs do not constitute analysable complex forms.

Adverbs with *-a*:

- *bara* 'only, solely, just'
- *bįesta* as in *go/fårå bįesta* 'take a shortcut'
- *djienna* 'willingly; by all means'
- *enda* 'right, as far as, all the way'
- *ganska* 'pretty'
- *grą'lla* 'completely, totally'
- *iemmfuota* 'with the feet together'
- *illa* 'ill, badly'
- *mjästa* 'almost'
- *nųoga* 'precisely, accurately; precise, accurate'
- *sakta* 'indeed'
- *åvenda* 'one by one, sequentially, in turn'

Note: The word *nųoga* can also be used as an adjective.

Adverbs with *-u* (with the regional variaties *-a* and *-å*):

- *launggu* 'long ago'
- *rieðu* 'already'
- *it werru* 'nowhere'

8.1.3 Adverbs with *-t*

Many adverbs are formed by adding the suffix *-t* to the basic form of the adjectives. Thus, the adverb becomes homonymous with the neutral singular form of the adjective. This method of forming adverbs is the most productive one.[1] Adverbs with *-t* usually denote manner, an example being *grann* 'beautiful' → *grannt* 'beautifully'. Adverbs with *-t*:

- *klien* 'bad; sick', → *klient* 'badly; ill'
- *rett* 'straight; correct; right' → *rett* 'straight; correctly; right'
- *sien* 'late.ADJ' → *sient* 'late.ADV'
- *sästjild* 'special' → *sästjilt* 'especially'
- *straið* 'fast, quick' → *strai'tt* 'fast, quickly'
- *waiðum* 'extensive' → *waiðumt* 'wide around'
- *wiss* 'sure, certain' → *wisst* 'surely, certainly'
- *ny* 'new; recent' → *ny'tt* 'recently'
- *säker* 'sure' → *säkert* 'surely; of course'

Note that some adverbs ending in *-t* sometimes acquire a different meaning to the equivalent adjective. Some examples follow:

- *gåmål* 'old' → *gåmålt* 'formerly, in old times'
- *kringg* 'fast' → *kringgt* 'often'
- *börg* 'capable, fit for work, outgoing' → *börgt* 'sufficiently'
- *små(r)* 'short; small' → *små'tt* 'slowly'
- *liuot* 'bad; ugly; evil' → *uvliuo'tt* ill; 'very; extraordinarily'
- *snąr* 'quick' → *snąrt* 'soon; early'

Note: With reference to *uvliuo'tt*, see also *uv-* in Section 8.1.10.

8.1.4 Adverbs with *-it, -ut; -li, -ligen*

Many adverbs consist of derivatives with the suffixes *-it, -ut, -li* and *ligen*. Adverbs deriving from adjectives with *-in* usually take the suffix *-it*, for example, *duktin* 'able, smart' → *duktit* 'smartly; abundantly'; those deriving from adjectives with *-un* often take the suffix *-ut*, for example, *witun* 'reasonable' → *witut* 'reasonably'; those deriving from adjectives with *-lin* often take the suffix *-li*, for example, *dålin* 'bad' → *dåli* 'ill'.

[1] For adverbs in *-it, -ut* (deriving from adjectives with *-in, -ut*), see Section 8.1.4.

Some adverbs lack attested corresponding adjectives, for example, *raikli* 'abundantly', but there is no **raiklin*.

Some adverbs with *-ut*:

- *avun* 'averse' → *avut* 'backwards; inside out'
- *fesiktun* 'careful' → *fesiktut* 'carefully'
- *riktun* 'correct; proper' → *riktut* 'correctly; properly'
- *witun* 'reasonable' → *witut* 'reasonably'

An adverb with *-it* is shown here. This type of adverb is more frequent in Modern Elfdalian.

- *duktin* 'able, smart' → *duktit* 'smartly; abundantly'

Some adverbs with *-li*:

- *dålin* 'bad' → *dåli* 'ill'
- *enteli(gen)* 'finally'
- *ny* 'new; recent' → *nyli* 'recently'
- *raikli* 'abundantly'
- *sann* 'true' → *sannerli* 'indeed, really'
- *skriptlin* 'written' → *skriptli* 'in writing'
- *straingg* 'strict' → *straindjeli* 'strictly'
- *tyðlin* 'clear, distinct, evident' → *tyðli* 'clearly, distinctly, evidently'
- *warlin* 'careful' → *warli* 'carefully'

Some adverbs with *-ligen* are shown here. This type of adverb is more frequent in Modern Elfdalian:

- *enteli(gen)* 'finally'
- *säker* 'sure' → *säkerligen* 'surely'
- *truolin* 'probable' → *truoligen* 'probably'
- *werklin* 'real' → *werkligen, werkli* 'really'

8.1.5 Adverbs with *-lund*

Adverbs with *-lund* denote ways or manners.

- *ellerlund* 'otherwise'
- *ingglund* 'in no way'
- *mikklund* 'in many ways'
- *noglund* 'somehow; approximately'
- *ollund, ollunde* 'in all ways'
- *summulund* 'in the same way'
- *ymslund* 'in different ways; different'

8.1.6 Adverbs with *-ssn*

Adverbs with *-ssn* derive (< ON *sin* 'time', as in *many times*, etc.) and denote frequency or points in time:

- *iessn* 'once; once more'
- *noðwessn* 'pretty often'
- *nossn* 'some time'
- *wessn* 'every time'

8.1.7 Adverbs with *-sta'ss*

Adverbs with *-sta'ss* denote places (< ON *staðr* 'place'). Note that the variant *-stas* also exists.

- (*nogum*) *ellersta'ss* 'elsewhere'
- (*nogum*) *ellumsta'ss* 'elsewhere'
- *flie'sta'ss* 'in several places'
- *ienumsta'ss* 'in one place'
- *inggumsta'ss* 'nowhere'
- *int werrumsta'ss* 'nowhere'
- *mikklund* 'in many ways'
- *nogumsta'ss* 'somewhere; in some place'
- *oðrumsta'ss* 'in other places'
- *ollesta'ss*, *ollsta'ss* 'everywhere'
- *slaiksta'ss slaiksta'ss* 'in such a place'
- *summsta'ss* 'in some places'

- *summusta'ss* 'in the same place'
- *twemmsta'ss* 'in two places'
- *trimmsta'ss* 'in three places'
- *werrsta'ss, nog werrsta'ss* 'a bit everywhere'
- *ymssta'ss* 'here and there, in different places'

Note: The stressed, emphatic form is *ollesta'ss*; the unstressed, unemphatic form is *ollsta'ss*.

8.1.8 Adverbs with *-til*

Adverbs with *-til* denote a place, the area around the place or an approximate time indiaction:

- *attåtil* 'in the back; back there'
- *autåtil* 'outside; by heart'
- *daitåtil* 'over there (on the other side)'
- *dai'ttertil* 'over there (direction)'
- *dieðåtil* 'over there (on the other side)'
- *fråmåtil* 'in the front'
- *innåtil* 'in the inside'
- *jυotåtil* 'in this side'
- *niðåtil* 'in the bottom'
- *nordåtil* 'in the north'
- *oståtil* 'in the east; on the eastern side of the river'
- *stjyörumtil* 'at times'
- *sunnåtil* 'in the south'
- *weståtil* 'in the west, on the western side of the river'
- *uvåtil* 'at the top'

Note: For *oståtil* and *weståtil*, see the note about compass points in the introduction to this chapter.

8.1.9 Other complex adverbs

This section embraces derivative and compound adverb types that do not fit into the complex types mentioned so far. Some complex adverbs may have two different spellings, as single words or several words.

Some adverbs with *-að*:

- *attrað* 'additionally; besides; moreover; close by'
- *firiað* 'before'
- *framað* 'forward'
- *yvyrað* 'left (over)'

Some adverbs with *-gaungg*:

- *triǫogaungg* 'three times'
- *tǫogaungg* 'twice'

Some adverbs with *-min*:

- *iemåmin* 'at home'
- *innåmin* 'in there; inside'
- *niðåmin* 'down there'
- *nordåmin* 'in the north'
- *sunnåmin* 'in the south; further south'
- *uvåmin* 'up there'
- *weståmin* 'in the west'

Some adverbs with *-n, -nę*:

- *jär* 'here' > *jen, jenę* 'here (more pointing)'
- *dar* 'here' > *dan, danę* 'there (more pointing)'
- *so* 'so, this way' > *sån, sånę* 'so, this way'

Some adverbs with *-s*:

- *iemmfyötes* 'with the feet together'
- *uvendes* 'very'
- *åvsaiðs* 'apart; far away, aside'

Some adverbs with *-ter*:

- *da'itter* 'there (direction), thither (more pointing)'
- *framter* 'forward'
- *jǫo'tter* 'here (direction), hither (more pointing)'
- *norter* 'in the north; to the north'

- *oster* 'in the east; to the east'
- *su'tter* 'in the south; to the south'
- *wester* 'in the west, to the west'

Some adverbs with *-um*:

- *ịekum* 'especially'
- *twertum* 'on the contrary'

Adverbs with *-wis* appear to be more frequent in Modern Elfdalian. The one attested adverb with *-wais*, that is, *oðerwais* 'differently', appears to be traditional Elfdalian. Many of these adverbs are often expressed paraphrastically in colloquial use.

- *dielwis* 'partially'
- *dågåwis* 'for days'
- *eksempelwis* 'for example'
- *myölitwis* 'possibly'
- *månaðswis* 'for months'
- *naturlitwis* 'naturally; of course'
- *oðerwais* 'otherwise'
- *taimwis* 'for hours'
- *truolitwis* 'probably'
- *wanlitwis* 'usually'
- *weståtilwis* 'in the western manner (as they do on the western side of the river)'
- *wikuwis* 'for weeks'
- *årswis* 'annually'

Note: For *weståtilwis*, see the note about the compass points in the introduction to this chapter.

Some adverbs with *-yvyr*:

- *nordyvyr* 'to the north'
- *ostryvyr* 'to the east'
- *suðyvyr* 'in the south'
- *westyvyr* 'in the west'

Adverbs with *-å* and *åter* denote the position *from* a place. Some of these adverbs have more recent side forms with the preposition *frå* 'from':

- *(frå) autåter* 'from outside'
- *dieðå* 'from there'
- *ieðå* 'from here'
- *(frå) niðåter* 'from below'
- *(frå) sunnå* 'from the south'
- *undå* 'from underneath; out of the way'
- *(frå) uvåter* 'from above'
- *weðå* 'where from'
- *weståter, frå weståter* 'from the west'

Further complex adverbs:

- *brieðwið* 'close by'
- *darimuot* 'contrarily, on the other hand'
- *endå* 'even' (in comparisons)
- *darfrå* 'from there'
- *festå'ss* 'of course'
- *inat* 'inwards'
- *järfrå* 'from here'
- *kanstji* 'maybe'
- *niði* 'down, downstairs, at the bottom, below'
- *olltiett* 'always'
- *rađweg* 'immediately'
- *umringg* 'around'
- *uvliuo'tt* 'very; extraordinarily'
- *yvyrollt* 'everywhere'
- *wiðer(a)* 'further'
- *wiso* 'why'

8.1.10 Qualifying prefix adverbs

Some qualifying adverbs consist of prefixes and thus form derivatives. Some, such as *liuot-* and *uv-*, are highly productive. *Liuot-* is one of the most common ways to express 'very', and *uv-* is the most common way to express 'too' (as in 'too much') and sometimes 'very'.

For prefix adverbs that reduplicate a part or the whole head word, see Section 8.1.15.

- *brenn-* 'very'
- *drit-* 'very'

- *ill-* 'very'
- *liuot-* 'very'
- *oðer-* 'more than others, more than usual' (with the comparative)
- *stur-* 'very; fiercely'
- *twer-* 'suddenly'
- *uv-* 'too; very'
- *uvliuo'tt* 'very; extraordinarily'
- *ǫogrotteli* 'extremely, enormously'

8.1.11 Adverb phrases consisting of several words

An adverbial phrase consists of an adverb and possibly more words. This section accounts for the latter. Note that the limit between compounds and adverbials with several words is not always clear cut in Elfdalian and that for some adverbials two spellings are possible.

8.1.12 Adverbials with adverb attributes

As adverbs can modify other adverbs, there are many ways to combine them with each other, for example, adverbs of degrees with manner adverbs, an example being *uvliuo'tt grannt* 'very beautifully' or negation adverbs with other adverbs, examples being *it jär* 'not here' and *nossn framyvyr* 'some time later on'.

Some idioms or phrases that require special attention are cited here:

- *aldri so, aldri en* 'ever so'
- *dai'tter-ni'tter* 'down there (direction, lit. 'thither-downwards')'
- *dai'tter-uppter* 'up there (direction, lit. 'thither-upwards')'
- *då mjog* 'indeed, really; especially'
- *iessn til* 'once more'
- *int launggt millå* 'often'
- *it... åtå* 'only'
- *int so kringgt* 'seldom; not so often'
- *mitjið åv* 'often'
- *mjäst åv* 'usually'
- *rett fram* 'straight ahead'
- *undå fer undå* 'gradually, little by little'
- *uonde når* 'at any time; whenever'
- *uonde war* 'anywhere; wherever (location)'

- *uonde wert* 'anywhere; wherever (direction)'
- *ålent åv* 'generally; everywhere; all of us/you/them'
- *åv og til* 'for a short while, for a short period of time'

Notes:
- The apocopated forms of *iem main* are the most common, although *iem maina*, *daina* and *saina* also exist (see also Chapter 5, note 5).
- The word *nuoga* can also be used as an adjective.

8.1.13 Adverbials consisting of a preposition phrase

Adverbials consisting of a preposition phrase may denote place, time, manner or circumstance, and many of them can be combined freely. Here, examples of some frequent adverbials are provided, as well as some fixed idioms or such requiring special attention:

- *að me'nn* 'tomorrow morning'
- *að slutę (til)* 'finally, in the end'
- *að yöger* 'to the right'
- *að wįster* 'to the left'
- *að årat* 'next year'
- *attåni wikun* 'in the end of the week'
- *et baker* 'back'
- *et kwells* 'in the evenings'
- *et nyes* 'anew; from scratch'
- *etter jågdę* 'after the weekend'
- *etter ien stjyöru* 'after a while; after a period of time'
- *fråmåni månaðim* 'in the beginning of the month'
- *frå byrånendam* 'from the start'
- *fer dyö* 'therefore, because of that; in spite of that'
- *fer inte* 'for free'
- *fer nog wiku sę* 'about a week ago'
- *i byrånendam* 'in the beginning'
- *i kwells* 'yesterday evening'
- *i renn* 'in a row'
- *i stelle* 'instead; in exchange'
- *i weg* 'off (to a place), away'
- *idag* 'today' (from *i dag*)
- *ilag* 'together'
- *i rappeð* 'immediately; soon'

- *ijuop* 'together'
- *um nętär* 'in the nights'
- *upå eð wiseð* 'that way'
- *upå ymsų wis* 'in different ways'
- *upå ollų wis* 'in all ways; in different ways, in all respects'
- *upå flierų wis* 'in many ways'
- *åv dyö* 'therefore, because of that'
- *å kununggswis* 'majestically; in a royal manner'

8.1.14 Adverbials consisting of a noun phrase or a clause

Circumstance adverbials, especially temporal such, may be expressed in the form of a declined noun phrase, for example, *ien stjyöru* lit. 'a while.F.ACC.SG', that is, 'for a while, for a period of time'. Likewise, whole clauses may be used as adverbials, for example, *måwitå* (lit. *må* 'one could' + *witå* 'know'), that is, 'I wonder; really, indeed'. Some other such adverbials are used as fixed idioms. Here, some fixed idioms or adverbials that require special attention are provided.

- *kanenda* 'really, indeed' (lit. 'may happen')
- *måtruo* 'I wonder; really, indeed' (lit. 'one may believe')
- *måwitå* 'probably, I believe so'
- *rett sos eð war* 'all of a sudden (lit. 'right when it was')'
- *ukað so ir* 'however, anyhow' (lit. 'whichever so is')
- *inggan weg* 'not anywhere, nowhere (direction)' (lit. 'not any way')

8.1.15 Adverbials containing reduplicated or multiplied forms

Some Elfdalian adverbs reduplicate or multiply. These can be divided into two types: 1) qualifying adverbs, where the head word is duplicated/multiplied or where merely the first element is duplicated/multiplied, for example, *nođ-nođ* 'very much' (to *nođ* 'pretty, quite') or *oll-olltiett* 'always (emphatic)' and 2) clause adverbs, consisting of the negation adverb, which can be accompanied by one or more negation adverbs, for example, *Ig ar it ingg peningga.* 'I have no money' (lit. 'I have no any money'). Whereas the productivity of the first type is limited, multiple negation (or *negative concord*) is quite common (see Sections 8.2.1.1 and 12.4.2.1).

- *nođ-nođ* 'very much'
- *older-older* 'absolutely never'
- *oll-ollesta'ss* 'absolutely everywhere'
- multiple negation (as in *Amm it older si'tt ån itjä.* 'We have never seen her (lit. 'We have not never seen her, not')

Oðer da'n fikk ig elsningger at eð war <u>fa'llit, fa'llit</u>, feskrettjeli fa'llit far dar å djiptę main.
On the next day I was notified (lit. 'I got greetings') that it was terribly dangerous there in my parcel.

8.2 Adverbs and adverbials by meaning and function

The adverbs in this section partially overlap with those cited in Section 8.1. However, this section aims to account for their meaning and function in context, as well as for the most frequent adverbs and adverbials, as well as idiomatic ones. Moreover, examples to these functions and meanings are provided.

Elfdalian adverbs can be divided into three main categories according to the criteria of meaning and function:

1) *Circumstantial adverbs* denote time, place and manner. Almost all circumstantial adverbs occur initially or finally in the clause:

   Byddjum fel <u>i Övdalim</u>.
   We live in Övdaln.

   Baðeðum niði tiennam <u>igår</u>.
   We swam in the pond yesterday.

   <u>So</u> amm wįð it older ferið.
   We never used to behave (or act) this way (lit. 'So we have never behaved').

2) *Qualifying adverbs* express the degree or intensity of adjectives, adverbs and verbs. With an adjective and an adverb, the qualifying adverb precedes the head word. Some qualifying adverbs constitute merely the first element in a compound with the head words.

   Um wittrą addum wįð <u>då mjog</u> ruolit.
   In wintertime we used to have an amusing (time) indeed.

Ig drömd um ån-dar liuotungg og snogg kullų.
I dreamt about that very young and pretty girl.

Imiln war grą'll rod.
The sky was totally red.

3) *Clause adverbs* refer to the whole clause or the sentence by modifying the whole clause through, for example, the speaker's attitude, addition, particularisation, negation or exclusion. In such cases, clause adverbs usually occur *after* the finite verb in the main clause. Some clause adverbs that link the clause to the overall context may also occur initially or finally in the clause (such as *finally, initially*, etc.).

Ig belld int åka.
I could not drive.

Itjä kann du latineð.
You don't possibly speak Latin.

Du ar dåfel taið dig aut.
You have managed to get out anyhow.

An duo naug frami agusti.
He probably died in August.

Ig ir fel frå Falu.[2] Ið irå fuoreldrär mainer og.
I am from Falun. My parents are, too (lit. 'This my parents are, too').

Ir å sę it nų aungger?
Doesn't she regret it now? (or 'I wonder if she doesn't regret it now'.)

8.2.1 Forms and function of the negation adverbs *inte, it, itjä*

Elfdalian has three main forms for 'not':[3] *itjä*, *inte* and *it*. For more on their position in the clause, see also Sections 12.2 and 12.3.

8.2.1.1 Itjä

Itjä occurs either initially or finally in the main clause, for example, *Itjä truor ig dyö* 'I (certainly) do not think so'. When occurring finally in the main clause, it is usually accompanied by another negation after the finite verb, for example, *An-dar rattjin ir it stur, an itjä* 'That dog is certainly not big (lit. 'That dog is not big, he not')'.

[2] *Fel* is not translatable here. See Section 8.2.6.
[3] There are some additional forms owing to local variation that are not included in this book.

8.2.1.2 Inte

Inte (*int* in its apocopated form) may occur to the right of the finite verb in the main or subordinate clause, for example, *ig wet inte* 'I don't know' and *at ig wet int* 'that I don't know'. (In both cases, the negation may be expressed by *it*, depending on regional variety. See Section 8.2.1.3.) As a topicalised element in the main clause, *int* may be used initially in the clause, followed by a reverse word order (that is, finite verb–subject), for example, *int wet ig* 'I don't know'. Moreover, *int* may be used right after the conjunction in a subordinate clause, for example, *at int ig wet* 'that I don't know'.

8.2.1.3 It

This is the most frequent occurrence of the word *itte/ịtte* in its apocopated form *it*. It can never be used emphatically in the clause. It occurs to the right of the finite verb in the main or subordinate clause, for example, *ig wet it* 'I don't know' and *at ig wet it* 'that I don't know'. In both cases, the negation may be expressed by *inte*, depending on regional variety (see Section 8.2.1.2).

8.2.2 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs denote *when* or *how long* an event or action takes place. Some central time adverbs are listed here:

- *að slutę (til)* 'finally, in the end'
- *að årat* 'next year'
- *aldri* 'never'
- *atte, att, atter* 'again; back'
- *atter wärdn* 'back in time'
- *attåter* 'back in time, formerly'
- *dą̊* 'then'
- *enn* 'yet; still'
- *enteli(gen)* 'finally'
- *et nyes* 'anew; from scratch'
- *framter wärdn* 'in the future'
- *gåmålt* 'formerly, in old times'
- *frå byrånendam* 'from the start'
- *för* 'before, earlier'
- *för i wärdn* 'formerly, in former times'
- *i byrånendam* 'in the beginning'

- *i morgų* 'tomorrow'
- *i seð* 'at a time'
- *idag* 'today'
- *iessn til* 'once more'
- *igår* 'yesterday'
- *int launggt millå* 'often'
- *int so kringgt* 'not that often, seldom'
- *kringgt* 'often'
- *laindje* 'for a long time'
- *launggu* 'long ago'
- *milumað, milmað* 'sometimes'
- *mitjið åv* 'often'
- *mjäst åv* 'usually'
- *noðwessn* 'pretty often'
- *nossn* 'some time'
- *nyli* 'recently'
- *nų* 'now'
- *når* 'when (in questions)'
- *oðer da'n* 'on the next day'
- *older* 'never'
- *ollt i seð* 'suddenly, all of a sudden'
- *olltiett* 'always'
- *raðweg* 'immediately'
- *sę* 'then; later, afterwards'
- *själdað* 'seldom'
- *stjyörumtil* 'at times'
- *tiðut* 'early'
- *triųogaungg* 'three times'
- *tųogaungg* 'twice'
- *undå fer undå* 'gradually, little by little'
- *uonde når* 'at any time; whenever'
- *wanlitwis* 'usually'
- *wessn* 'every time'
- *åv og til* 'for a short while, for a short period of time'

Å festeð i lampų og fann att tofflur <u>að slutę</u>.
She turned on the lamp and finally found her slippers.

<u>Gåmålt</u> war eð fullt i wargum.
In old times, it used to be full of wolves.

Eð ar ig int gart åtą̊ iessn.
I have only done this once (lit. 'This I haven't done but once').

Naug fą̊r ig skät ą̊ tuolmuoð it launggt millą̊.
I indeed have to increase (my) patience quite often.

Jär war eð iet buðstell launggu.
Here, there used to be a summer pasture cottage long ago.

An edd bellt werd rasend milumað.
One could.SUBJ be furious sometimes.

Ar du weð iemą̊min nyli?
Have you been at home recently?

An ar skaffað sig ien kelingg nossn launggu.
He found (lit. 'himself') a wife a long time ago.

Amm fel it older apt inggan bårå, wį̨ð itjä.
As for us, we have never had a *bari* ('troll cat') (lit. 'We have not never had no *bari*, we not').

Ig skriever upp ą̊ iet papir ur mikkel stiennur ig ier. Og sę lęser ig in papirę i ien låðu.
I write on a piece of paper how many stars I own. And then I lock the paper inside a box.

Dier mą̊tt war iem ą̊ simester åv og til.
They are apparently at home for holidays for a short period of time.

Mes eð byrdes saggd ą̊ 'mamma, mamma' tų̨ogaungg.
When it started, she said 'Mum, Mum' twice.

Tienn-Lass kwað ån-dar waisų fer mig noðwessn.
Tienn-Lass used to sing that song (or ballad) to me pretty often.

8.2.2.1 Days, parts of day, weeks, seasons, holidays and years

In this section, some frequent time denotations are introduced. For telling the time of day, as well as dates, see Section 6.5.

The preposition *framter að* (lit. 'towards to' + the noun in the dative singular definite) is combined with points in time to convey the meaning 'towards', for example, *framter að kweldem* 'towards the evening'; whereas the preposition *framter* (lit. 'towards' + the noun in the dative singular definite) is combined with points in time to convey the

meaning 'later in the', for example, *framter kweldem* 'later in the evening'. *Um* + the noun in the accusative plural definite is combined with points in time to convey the meaning 'in the -s', for example, *um kweldą* 'in the evenings'.

The conjunctions *dar* and *mes* are used paraphrastically with verbs to denote when an action takes place, for example, *dar/mes wittern ir* 'at wintertime' (referring to the present, lit. 'when it is winter') and *dar/mes wittern war* 'at wintertime' (referring to the past, lit. 'when it was winter').[4]

Morning
- *að me'nn, að me'nne* 'tomorrow morning'
- *framter að me'nnem* 'towards morning'
- *framter me'nnem* 'later in the morning'
- *igår morgus* 'yesterday morning'
- *i morgus* 'this morning'
- *jär i me'nnem* 'this morning'
- *um me'nną*.ACC.PL 'in the mornings'
- *um morgun* 'in the early morning'

Noon
- *firi middag* 'before noon'
- *etter middag* 'in the afternoon'
- *mitt å daem, å ogest daem* 'in the middle of the day'

Evening
- *að kweldem* 'in the evening'
- *et kwells* 'in the evening'
- *i kweld* 'this evening, tonight'
- *i kwells* 'last night'
- *um kweldn* 'in the evening'

Night
- *að nåt* 'in the night'
- *i nåt* 'tonight'
- *oll nåtę* 'the whole night'
- *um nętär* 'in the nights'

Midnight
- *um minnåt* 'at midnight'

[4] For the conjunctions *dar* and *mes*, see Section 10.3.1.

Day

- *da'n firiað* 'on the previous day'
- *dar da'n* ir 'during daytime (lit. 'when the day is')'
- *dågåwis* 'for days'
- *framter (að) daem* 'later in the day'
- *framå daem, fråmåni da'n* 'later in the day'
- *förda'n* 'the day before yesterday'
- *i dagum jär* 'these days'
- *i morgų* 'tomorrow'
- *idag* 'today'
- *igår* 'yesterday'
- *oðer da'n* 'on the next day'
- *oll da'n* 'the whole day'
- *um dågå* 'during daytime'
- *um månda'n, et måndags* 'on Monday'
- *um sundågå* 'on Sundays'

Week

- *að wikun* 'next week'
- *attåni/fråmåni wikun so war/kumb* 'in the beginning/end of last/next week'
- *fråmåni/fuost i wikun* 'in the beginning of the week'
- *i wikun so war* 'last week'
- *iss wikų* 'this week'
- *wikų so kumb* 'next week'
- *wikų so war* 'last week'

Month

- *i januari* 'in January' (etc. with the other months)

Seasons and holidays

- *að juolum* 'at Christmas'
- *að sumbrem* 'in the summer' (*að wårn* 'in the spring', *að wittrem* 'in the winter, *að ostem* 'in the autumn')
- *dar såmårn ir* 'in the summer (lit. 'when the summer is')' (etc. with the other seasons)
- *i juoles* 'last Christmas'
- *i sumbrem* 'in the summer'
- *i såmår* 'this summer'
- *i såmårs* 'last summer' (*i wåres* 'last spring', *i wittres* 'last winter', *i ostes* 'last autumn')

- *såmårn 1976* 'in the summer of 1976'
- *um såmårn* 'in the summer' (etc. with the other seasons)
- *um sumbrą* 'in the summers' (etc. with the other seasons)

Year
- *að årat* 'next year'
- *i fiuord* 'last year'
- *i år* 'this year'
- *åred 2022* 'in the year 2022'

Ig lär far uppter og drag iem iet lass <u>að me'nn</u> bitaið.
I should go up there and pull a load home tomorrow morning.

Pär sta'nner <u>að påskum</u>.
Pär will remain until Easter.

<u>I morgus</u> fann ig iet glas ini skåpę.
This morning I found a glass in the cupboard.

<u>Um wittern</u> ir erin wait i ferg.
In wintertime the hare is white in colour.

Ið ir sakt bra åvå ien warman tapp upi legun <u>um nętär</u>.
It is certainly good to have a warm wisp (referring to a cat) in bed at night.

Werd ið wåtweðred <u>et kwells</u>?
Will it be rainy (lit. 'will there be wet weather') tonight (lit. 'in the evening')?

Fåmm naug luv ev aut lit åv jätå að diem-dar waskum <u>idag</u>.
I guess I should throw a bit of food to those poor ones today.

8.2.3 Spatial adverbs

Some important spatial adverbs are listed here.

- *að yöger* 'to the right'
- *að wįster* 'to the left'
- *att og fram* 'back and forth'
- *attåtil* 'in the back'
- *brott, brotte* 'away (direction and location, respectively)'
- *da'itter* 'there (direction), thither (more pointing)'

- *dai'ttertil* 'over there, at that area'
- *dan, danę* 'there (more pointing)'
- *dar* 'there'
- *darfrå, dieðå* 'from there'
- *ellersta'ss* 'elsewhere' *(nogum) ellumsta'ss* 'elsewhere'
- *et baker* 'back'
- *ieðå, järfrå* 'from here'
- *iem, iema* 'home (direction and location respectively)'
- *ienumsta'ss* 'in one place'
- *inggan weg* 'nowhere (direction)'
- *inggumsta'ss* 'nowhere'
- *int werrumsta'ss* 'nowhere'
- *it werru* 'nowhere, not anywhere'
- *jen, jenę* 'here (more pointing)'
- *jųot* 'here (direction)'
- *jär* 'here'
- *niðåmin* 'down there'
- *nogumsta'ss* 'somewhere; in some place'
- *nogär* 'somewhere'
- *nordyvyr* 'to the north'
- *nordåmin* 'in the north'
- *norter* 'in the north; to the north'
- *oðrumsta'ss* 'in other places'
- *oster* 'in the east'
- *ostryvyr* 'to the east'
- *ollsta'ss* 'everywhere'
- *slaiksta'ss* 'in such a place'
- *stað, umstað* 'away', denoting intention with verbs
- *suðyvyr* 'in the south'
- *summsta'ss* 'in some places'
- *summusta'ss* 'in the same place'
- *sunnå, frå sunnå* 'from the south'
- *sunnåmin* 'in the south; further south'
- *su'tter* 'in the south'
- *trimmsta'ss* 'in three places'
- *twemmsta'ss* 'in two places'
- *uonde war* 'wherever (location)'
- *uonde wert* 'wherever (direction)'
- *war* 'where (in questions)'
- *weðå* 'where from'
- *werrsta'ss*, *nog werrsta'ss* 'a bit everywhere'

- *wert* 'whither, where to'
- *wester* 'in the west, to the west'
- *weståmin* 'in the west'
- *weståter, frå weståter* 'from the west'
- *weståtil* 'in the west, on the western side of the river'
- *weståmin* 'in the west'
- *ymssta'ss* 'here and there, in different places'
- *yvyrollt* 'everywhere'

Notes:
- *stað, umstað*: these two forms reflect regional variation.
- *weståtil*: see the note about compass points in the introduction to this chapter.

8.2.3.1 Spatial adverbs denoting place from, in and to a place

Table 8.1 shows some frequent adverbs denoting movement from, position in and movement to a place.

Buorä yr liteð wið danę!
Drill out some wood there!

Gustaf Eriksson frå westå jen ar weð jụot og få att ien råkåknaiv.
Gustaf Eriksson from here in the west has been here to take (lit. 'get') back a razor.

Attåtil jägg dier yr oll byörker.
There, in the back, they cut down all the birch trees.

Brindn kåy'tt dai'ttertil.
The moose ran to the area over there.

An kann it að feð inggan weg enn.
He couldn't possibly have gone anywhere yet.

Irå dier iem niðåmin?
Are they at home in the neighbouring farm down (or south) from here?

Sofia ärd noð so remd og skelld auti raisę norter noger.
Sofie heard something that mooed and barked somewhere up north in the forest (lit. 'up north somewhere').

Nordåmin åvå dier faið nyan diskmasin.
In the neighbouring farm north of here, they got a new dishwasher.

Table 8.1 Adverbs denoting movement and position

Movement from	Position in	Movement to	Meaning
(frå) attåter	attånað, attåni, attåną, attåtil	atter	*behind, back, backside*
(frå) autåter	aute	aut	*outside*
dieðą, darfrą	dar; danę, dan[5]	dait	*there*
fråmåter	fråmånað	fråmåtil	*in front*
iemą, (frą) iemåter, iemfrą	iema	iem, iemat	*home*
(frą) innåter	inne	in	*inside*
	niðåmin, (dar, jär) niðåmin	ni'ttertil	*further down (there, here)*
niðą, niðąter	niðånað, niðåni	ni'tter	*down*
	niðåną, niðånum, niðątil		*at the bottom*
ieðą, järfrą, jenfrą, (frą) juotąter	jär; jenę, jen[6]	juot	*here*
nordąter, frą nordąter	nordątil, norter nordąmin	norter, nortertil	*north*
ostąter, (frą) ostąter	ostątil, oster	ostertil	*east*
sunnąter, (frą) sunnąter	dan su'tter, jär su'tter sunnąmin, sunnątil	su'tter, su'ttertil	*south*
undą, frą under	under		*underneath*
upp	uppe	upp	*up*
(frą) uvąter	uvånað, (dar, jär) uvåmin, uvątil		*above*
(frą) westąter	westątil, wester	wester, westertil	*west*

Notes:
- For the adverbs *danę, jenę* See adverbs with *-n*, *-ne* in Section 8.1.9.
- Adverbs with *-min* and *-til* denote an area rather than a specific place.

Ið ir sniuostattjin <u>ollsta'ss</u>.
There are piles of snow everywhere.

Ig ar weð <u>stað</u> borg iet smyörpakiet.
I set off (lit. 'away') to buy a package of butter on credit.

[5] See adverbs with *-n*, *-ne* in Section 8.1.9.
[6] See adverbs with *-n*, *-ne* in Section 8.1.9.

Gokk undå!
Go away!

Ig fann eð it werru.
I didn't find it anywhere.

Dar weståmin råkeðum wįð twär dyöttrer að Tolv-Manne.
There in the west we met two of Tolv-Manne's daughters.

Ig bistelld an ulld lemmen buotję weståtil að Inger.
I sent for him to deliver the book to Inger on the west side of the river.

Ig ar flueð liteð ymssta'ss i wärdn.
I have been flying around a bit in different parts (lit. 'in different places') of the world.

8.2.4 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs express the manner in which an event or an action takes place. Many are highly productive and derive from adjectives. Some key manner adverbs are listed here.

- *dielwis* 'partially'
- *fil* 'wrongly'
- *ellerlund* 'otherwise'
- *illa* 'ill, badly'
- *ingglund* 'in no way'
- *int nað warut* 'not too well'
- *mikklund* 'in many ways'
- *noglund* 'somehow; approximately'
- *nossonęr* 'somehow'
- *oðerwais* 'otherwise'
- *ollund, ollunde* 'in all ways'
- *so* 'so, this way'
- *sånę* 'this way'
- *summulund* 'in the same way'
- *twer-* 'suddenly'
- *upå eð wisеð* 'that way'
- *ur* 'how.QUEST.ADV'
- *upå ollų wis* 'in all ways; by all means'
- *upå ymsų wis* 'in different ways'
- *ymslund* 'in different ways'
- *wel* 'well'

- *weståtilwis* ‘in the western manner’ (as they do on the western side of the river)
- *åvenda* ‘one by one, sequentially, in turn’
- *åv dyö* ‘therefore, because of that’

Note: *weståtilwis*: see note about compass points in the introduction to this chapter.

Namnę åvå uorteð ellerlund nų.
The names have become otherwise (i.e. different) nowadays.

Fer dyö fuor ig upp snąrt i morgus.
Because of that I got up early this morning.

An dugd it stjyöt eð ingglund.
He wasn’t able to take care of himself at all (by any means).

Eð gor bruk eð so mikklund.
It is possible to use it in so many ways.

Dier irå ijuopsuorner min Båråm noglund.
They have a conspiracy with *bari* (‘troll cat’) in some way.

Dier åvå weð so lieðer wið ån ollund.
They have been mean to her in all respects.

Ig kam nossonęr tuorskuo’dd.
I arrived somehow with dry shoes (lit. ‘dry-shoed’).

Edd an að feð oðerwais so edd båtn að uolteð.
If one had acted otherwise, the boat would have capsized.

Ig tyttjer so. Saium so. Djärum so.
I think so. Let’s say that. Let’s do so/that.

Du får it djärå sånę.
You are not allowed to so.

Ig kuogäð niðå bokkan og twertjipptas.
I looked down at the ground and winced all of a sudden.

Å må’dd it so warut.
She was not feeling well.

Wartum läender ålent åv.
We all started laughing without exception.

Boa-uormär såvå sjäks månaði åvenda.
The boa constrictors sleep six months in a row.

Takk, summulund!
Thanks, likewise!

Weðreð ir so ymslund.
The weather always varies (or is always different).

Many manner adverbs are derived from adjectives (see also Section 8.1.3):

Sę tuog ig og muol å pannų rett duktit.
Then, I started grinding an abundant amount (of coffee) into the kettle (lit. 'quite abundantly').

Stien ir westwið daitjeð, rett wester frå laðun.
The stone is near the ditch in the west, straight to the west of the barn.

Å dugd it såvå riktut ien ienda nåt fer wertjem.
She did not manage to sleep a single night properly because of the pain.

Ig lär få sjå ur snąrt ig kumb i weg að Nesį.
I suppose I will find out (lit. 'see') how soon (from now) I will set off to Neseð.

Klukką sluo ellåv nų og å dunker og slår so wellt.
The clock struck eleven now, and it is banging and striking so loudly.

8.2.5 Qualifying adverbs

Qualifying adverbs express the degree or intensity of the head word. They usually occur before the head word and may take the form of independent words or prefixes. With verbs, many qualifying adverbs occur after the finite verb in the clause.

- *brenn-* 'very'
- *drit-* 'very'
- *då mjog* 'indeed, really'
- *enndå* 'even' (in comparisons)
- *ganska* 'pretty'
- *grą'lla* 'completely, totally'
- *guoskli* 'abundantly'
- *ill-* 'very'
- *lagum* 'moderately; just in time'
- *liuot-* 'very'
- *liuota* 'very'
- *liteð* 'a little'

- *mjog* ‘quite, pretty’
- *mjäst* ‘mostly’
- *mjästa* ‘almost’
- *mitjið* ‘a lot, much’
- *naug* ‘enough, sufficiently’
- *oðer-* (with adjective in the comparative as the head word) ‘more than usual, very, extraordinarily’
- *oll* (with adjective in the superlative as the head word) ‘of all’, expressing the highest degree
- Reduplication, by which a part or the whole word is repeated (see also Section 12.4.2.10).
- *stur-* ‘very; fiercely’
- *til og min* ‘even’
- *uv-* ‘too; very’
- *uvliuo’tt* ‘very; extraordinarily’
- *uvendes* ‘very’
- *wel* ‘completely, totally, utterly’
- *wenest* ‘pretty, rather; rather a lot; quite a lot’
- *ä* ‘ever’ (in expressions such as *ä sę* ‘ever since’)

Ið ar uorteð so brennkollt um nętär.
It has become so extremely cold at night.

Og we’n gor dar, gambel-gambel-we’n.
And the road goes there, the very old road.

Ið war ant um redd iss-järbuðär innå dier add grą’ll fefelleð.
It was urgent to save these summer pastures before they would completely fall into decay.

Ið liuotdunäð å fösstövsdörär.
There was a very loud knock on the hall door (lit. ‘It knocked fiercely on the hall door’).

noð noð kringgt
very often.

Jonte ir ien siðun og oðerfrekera est.
Jonte is a well-behaved and extraordinarily gentle (lit. ‘gentler than others’) horse.

Kalln war oðerstarkera.
The man was stronger than all other men.

Övdalslaksn ir oðerwildera.[7]
The Övdaln salmon is better than other salmon.

oll fuost
first of all; at the very beginning

Ið ir oll swårestað dyöm sig siuovan.
The most difficult thing is judging yourself.

Ið ir painut að uoss krippum feklar ollt fer diem ollt-olltiett.
It is tiresome for us children to explain to them everything just about all the time.

An add weð upp iel nåtę og ulað åvå stur-stur-sturjäldn.
He had been up all night in order to have a very big fire.

Dier sturmjägleð.
They were discussing (or 'fighting') intensely.

Ið byrd å sturraingen nest baurę.
It started raining fiercely next to the storehouse.

Ig lär få war fesiktun so int ig kryppes uvlaindj.
I (guess) I have to be careful so I shouldn't crouch down for too long.

Sofie festuoð eð war uvendes brå'tt um nų.
Sofia understood things were very urgent then.

Ið lit so uvliuo'tt räðskilt.
It sounded extremely scary.

Mę dier kam uvnęr, boð weståter og oståter, so fikk an luv tågå kaulų og stjuot boð sig og Äva Braun.
As they came too close, both from the west and the east, he had to take a bullet and shoot both himself and Eva Braun.

Ið blås wenest.
It is very windy (lit. 'It blows strongly').

Ið ar fel kuostað wenest få jųot eð.
It has cost quite a lot to get it brought here.

Ig add kuotuligan rygg wenest mikkel dågå.
I had a sore back for quite a lot of days.

[7] Note also the word *dyöwilder* 'better' (lit. 'better than that') as in *eð wart dyöwilder* 'it became better' and the negation form *noðwilder* as in *eð wart it noðwilder* 'it didn't get any better'.

8.2.6 Clause adverbs

Clause adverbs refer to the whole clause. Clause adverbs modify the whole clause through expressing the speaker's attitude. Addition, particularisation, negation or exclusion occur after the finite verb in the main clause.

- *allt* 'certainly'
- *bara* 'only, solely, just'
- *darimụot* 'contrarily, on the other hand'
- *djienna* 'willingly; by all means'
- *dą̊* 'then; at least, anyhow; certainly'
- *dåfel* 'anyhow; at least; certainly; in that case'
- *dą̊ mjog* 'indeed, really'
- *ganska* 'pretty'
- *enteli(gen)* 'finally'
- *fel* is an adverb referring to something previously mentioned, known to the interlocutors or only known to the speakers. It is not always translatable (or necessary to translate) into English. Sometimes it can be rendered as 'as you know', 'as we know', 'you see', 'to be sure'
- *festå'ss* 'of course'
- *inte, it, itjä* 'not'
- *ju* is usually not translatable into English, 'as we know it' or alike
- *just* 'right, exactly, precisely'
- *kanenda* 'really, indeed' (may also occur in the end of the clause)
- *kanstji* 'maybe'
- *måtruo* 'I wonder; really, indeed' (occurring at the end of the clause)
- *måwitå* 'probably, I believe so' (occurring at the end of the clause)
- *naturlitwis* 'naturally; of course'
- *naug* 'enough, sufficiently; certainly'
- *nụ* 'now; indeed'
- *nụfel* 'certainly, indeed'
- *oðerwais* 'otherwise'
- *og* 'also'
- *prisiss* 'exactly'
- *sakta* 'indeed'
- *sę* 'then; later, afterwards; in that case; and what about', also used to emphasise the proposition or to express wondering in a question

- *synnerli* 'especially'
- *til og min* 'even'
- *truo* 'I wonder, is it really possible?' (occurring at the end of the clause)
- *truolitwis* 'probably'
- *twertum* 'on the opposite'
- *wisst* 'surely, certainly'

Dar eð war blåsweðred war eð bar tä ụogås, so båtn djikk rett mụot wågum.
When it was windy you just had to see that the boat would sail straight against the waves (lit. 'take care so that the boat went straight against the waves').

Eð mått då fel du kunna.
Anyhow, you must (i.e. probably) know it!

Ig syöks it minnas uker klautär os war i ferg eld.
I don't seem to remember what colour his clothes were either.

Enteli ar ig faið til låðụ.
Finally, I made the box.

Ig belld int åka.
I could not drive.

Alfrið wart då it iwari åm dyö.
Alfrið was not even aware of him.

Warmkakao smäkäð liuotguoð kanenda.
The hot chocolate tasted very good indeed.

Ig kåyter fel og ar uvmitjið bistyr, måwitå.
I am running about, having too many duties, I believe.

Ig boð naturlitwis til få rieð å mịer.
Of course, I tried to find out about other things (lit. 'I naturally tried').

Naug ir du då taimstyöð olltiett du!
You are certainly always punctual!

Ig biuoð nụfel til.
I am certainly trying.

Fy sẹ krippär og?
And what about the children, are they joining us too?

Naug war eð <u>sę</u> muggut.
Certainly it was full of mosquitos (*sę* is used here to confirm the utterance additionally).

wen slaikt må <u>sę</u> ul bityða
what such a thing (I wonder) should then mean

Naug minnums wįð <u>sę</u> Juon.
We certainly do remember Juon.

Oðrär <u>sę</u> spinn gulltråðn.
Others, on the other hand, spin straw into gold (lit. 'spin golden thread').

<u>Ur</u> ietter sę du?
What is your name (I am wondering)?; And what is your name?

Wen al ig itt å idag, <u>truo</u>?
What shall I do today, I am wondering?

8.2.7 Other adverbs

This section embraces adverbs that do not fit into any of the previous types according to the criteria of meaning and function.

- *aldri so, aldri en* 'ever so'
- *attrað* 'besides; moreover; close by'
- *eld* 'than'
- *int... åtå* 'only'
- *kwer* 'left (behind), remained (with verbs)'
- *til* 'another, (one, two) more'
- *ukað so ir* 'however, anyhow; certainly'
- *wiso* 'why'
- *yvyrað* 'left (over)'

Fast ig edd si'tt <u>aldri en</u> so mitjið so edd ig it sagt åm eð.
Even if I hadn't ever so much, I would never have told him that.

Al du åvå mjotję <u>attrað</u>?
Will you have some milk (lit. 'together with it')?

Å ar apt <u>boð</u> glasogų å sig <u>og</u>.
She even had her glasses on.

Eð ar ig int gart åtą̊ iessn.
This I have only done once (lit. 'This I haven't done but once').

Fer dyö stuoð an kwer dar an stuoð.
Because of this, he remained standing where he was standing.

Ig lär fą̊ skriev nog rað eld oðer til.
I guess I will write some more lines (lit. 'line'). (*til* means 'more' here.)

Eð wart it yvyrað nogų tårta.
There was no cake left.

Ukað so ir so beller ig it djärå eð nų.
Anyhow, I cannot do it now.

Wiso al ig sai åv oll so ir fer ånum?
Why should I tell him about all sorts of things?

8.3 Comparison of adverbs

Some adverbs are declined in three degrees: the positive, comparative and superlative. Usually, adverbs with the suffix *-t* can be compared, for example, *kringgt* 'often' and *strai'tt* 'quickly'. Adjective-derived adverbs take the equivalent regular adjective comparison inflection, for example, *stra'itt* 'quickly' ← *straið* 'quick' and the inflection *straiðer(a)* 'quicker' and *straiðest* 'quickest', as shown in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2 The comparison of some regular adverbs

Positive	Comparative	Superlative	Meaning
kringgt (from kringg)	kringger(a)	kringgest	*often*
strai'tt (from straið)	straiðer(a)	straiðest	*quickly*

Some adverbs have an irregular declension, as shown in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3 The comparison of irregular adverbs

Positive	Comparative	Superlative	Meaning
bra, wel	wilder(a), better(a)	wildest, best	*well*
dålit	semmer(a)	semst	*badly, ill*
dar		daitest	*there; most remotely*
djienna	elder	elst	*willingly*

Table 8.3 (continued)

Positive	Comparative	Superlative	Meaning
–	för 'before'	fuost 'firstly'	
fram(me)		fremst	*forward*
jär		jụotest 'closest to here'	*here*
launggt	laingger(a)	lainggst	*far*
nẹr	nemmer(a)	nemmest	*close*
		norðest	*north*
nið, ni'tter		niðst	*down, underneath*
nyli	–	nylest	*recently*
oster		ostest	*east*
su'tter		syðst	*south*
wel	weler(a)	welest	*well*
wester		westest	*west*
uvåni		yvst	*upper*

niðst i dragtjistlåðun
at the bottom of the drawer

syðst i bymm
southernmost in the village

Tjär tokk fer nylest.
Lit. 'Many thanks for last time'.[8]

Råwiðn låg yvst.
The crude wood was on the top.

Gardum eð wildera.
We did it better.

The superlative has additionally an equative function, for example, *straiðest* 'as quickly as':

sos kringgest
every now and then (fixed idiom) (lit. 'as most often')

lainggst ig minnes
as long (back in time) as I remember

[8] A polite expression after meeting each other again.

Knalleðum åv straiðest dugdum.
We left as fast as we could.

8.4 Phonology of adverbs

Some common adverbs with an initial [d] change it to [ð] if the previous word ends in a vowel sound: *dą̊* 'then' and those denoting 'there' (*dar* 'there', *dieðą̊* 'from there' etc.), for example, *og dą̊* /o ˈðõː/ 'and then' (see also Section 2.5.7).

9
Prepositions

This chapter accounts for prepositions and their function, including their use and their complements.

Prepositions are a class of words that combine with a following noun phrase to create a prepositional phrase. Often, they convey information about time, space, circumstance, cause and so on; for example, *etter jågdę* 'after the weekend' or *under buordę* 'under the table'. They may also express a range of other semantic relations, such as possession, instrument and so on. Some verbs are used with prepositions in connection to the direct object, for example, *baið eter mig* 'wait for (lit. 'after') me' (see also Sections 4.3, 7.3.3 and 9.6).

The whole semantic spectrum of a preposition in one language is seldom equivalent in another. Such is also the relation between Elfdalian and English prepositions. A preposition such as *ą̊* can be roughly translated to 'on' as in the example *ą̊ guovę* 'on the floor, but a phrase such as *ą̊ ettermiddaem* means 'in the afternoon'. Likewise, *að* can mean 'to' as in *að Amierik* 'to America', but 'for' in a so-called benefactive phrase such as *an kuokeð ien supp að mig* 'he made some soup for me'.

Elfdalian prepositions frequently compound with adverbs and may consist of several morphemes ('compound prepositions'). In many cases, a compound preposition may be near-obligatory.

9.1 Simplex prepositions

An overview of the central simplex prepositions is given here with their rough English translations.[1] Some of them serve as last elements in compound prepositions (see the following sections).

- *að* 'to'
- *brieðwið* 'beside, next to'
- *eter* '(remained) after; along; according to'
- *etter* 'after (in time or sequence)'
- *firi* 'before'
- *frå* 'from'
- *fer* 'for'
- *gainum* 'through'
- *i* 'in'
- *millå* 'between'
- *min* 'with'
- *mụota* 'towards, against'
- *nest* 'at, by'
- *nęr*, *nęrandum* 'close to'
- *ringgum* 'around'
- *tast* 'until'
- *um* 'about, concerning; around'
- *under* 'under'
- *undå* 'away from'
- *wið* 'by'
- *yr* 'out of'
- *yvyr* 'over'
- *åv* 'of, from'
- *å* 'on'

Notes:

- While *brieðwið*, *gainum* and *ringgum* historically consist of two morphemes, they are treated here as simplices, as their first elements are no longer productive (see Section 9.3).
- A regional variant of *fer* is *för*.
- The word *tast* 'until' is primarily a conjunction, but may be used prepositionally, especially before temporal expressions, for example, *tast i morgụ* 'until tomorrow' and *tast oðer da'n* 'until the next day'.

[1] The preposition *et* 'to' only occurs in fixed phrases followed by an old genitive case, e.g. *et messer* 'to Mass, to church' or *et swemms* 'to sleep' (see the bottom of Section 3.1.3.7).

A number of prepositions ending in *-ą̊* (from ON *-an*)[2] derive stative prepositions from adverbials of direction, for example, *nið* 'down' > *niðą̊* 'below',[3] *att* 'back' > *attą̊* 'behind'. Historically a derivation, the suffixation with *-an* is no longer productive and these prepositions are hence regarded here as simplices.

- *attą̊* 'behind'
- *autą̊* 'without, outside, downstream of'
- *daitą̊* 'on the other side of'
- *dieðą̊* 'on the other side of'
- *fr

मą̊* 'in front of'
- *iemą̊* 'on this side of one's home'
- *inną̊* 'inside'
- *jụotą̊* 'on this side of'
- *niðą̊* 'below, downstream of'
- *nordą̊* 'north of'
- *ostą̊* 'east of'
- *sunną̊* 'south of'
- *uvą̊* 'above, upstream of'
- *westą̊* 'west of'

9.2 Case government

Elfdalian prepositions govern either the accusative or dative cases, meaning that the complement of a preposition needs to be in a certain case depending on the preposition and the context. Some cases are always followed by the accusative, some by the dative, and some may govern either.

9.2.1 Prepositions governing the accusative case

The prepositions governing the accusative case include a few common prepositions, as well as many, mostly locational, prepositions ending on *-ą̊* (see Section 8.1). Some common usages of these prepositions are listed here.

[2] This limited group of prepositions should not be confused with compound prepositions with the preposition *-ą̊* 'on' as the second element 'on', e.g. *autą̊* (< ON *utan*) 'without' ['àu̯tõ] versus *autą̊* 'out-on' ['áu̯tõ], respectively.
[3] An exception is *undą̊* 'away from', which denotes direction and which also governs the dative case, whereas other prepositions from earlier *-an* govern the accusative.

The central prepositions governing the accusative case are:

- *brieðwið* 'beside, next to'
- *etter* 'after'
- *gainum* 'through; because of'
- *ringgum* 'around; approximately'
- *tast* 'until'
- *um* 'about'
- *wið* 'by'
- Some simplex prepositions ending in *-ą̊* (see the second box in Section 9.1)

9.2.1.1 Brieðwið, gainum *and* ringgum

The prepositions *brieðwið* 'beside, next to', *gainum* 'through' and *ringgum* 'around; approximately' govern the accusative and are primarily used in spatial contexts.

Iną̊ guovę add an laggt ien filt <u>brieðwið wåtjakkų</u>.[4]
Inside he had placed a blanket next to the wet jacket.ACC on the floor.

Åvtunggleð lat sją̊ sig <u>gainum dumbų</u> iessn i kweld.
The half moon is showing itself once through the fog.ACC tonight.

An druog tjåkan min riepeð <u>ringgum kwiðn</u>.
He pulled the sledge with the rope around his belly.

Gainum and *ringgum* are also used as compounds, sometimes spelt as single words, for example, *autgainum*, sometimes as separate words, *aut gainum*.

Ig bögles <u>autgainum glaseð</u> og fikk sją̊ diem.
I looked out through the window.ACC and happened to see them.

An add funneð an <u>uppringgum Ötienn</u>.
He found him up around Lake Ötienn.ACC.

[4] The prepositional phrase is underlined in the examples.

9.2.1.2 Etter

The preposition *etter* 'after' is used in temporal contexts and when talking about the sequence (as in a list).[5]

> **Ig skuold rien straupan og munn <u>etter eð-dar sturkalaseð</u>.**
> I rinsed my throat and mouth after that big feast.ACC.
>
> **<u>Etter an da'n</u> add inte Lass ien glaðan dag.**
> After that day.ACC Lasse didn't have a happy day.
>
> **An låt an ir dålin men al då að raisę og ogg essyrtjeð <u>etter jågdę</u>.**
> He says he is ill, but he will still be going to the forest after the weekend.ACC to cut some wood for the hay-drying rack.
>
> **Du beller såvå i oðer ruomę <u>etter tjyötjeð</u>.**
> You can sleep in the second room after the kitchen.ACC.

9.2.1.3 Um

The primary meaning of *um* is 'about, concerning', as shown in these examples:

> **Ig fikk lösningg å gåtų <u>um kalln</u> so fuor min byssų.**
> I got the solution to the riddle about the man.ACC who carried the gun.
>
> **Eð war į̨e wais <u>um ien junggfru</u>.**
> It was a song about a maiden.ACC.

In temporal expressions, *um* means 'in' or 'on'.

> **<u>Um morgun</u> mes ig wakkneð, so war ig mågåsiuok.**
> When I woke up in the morning.ACC, I had a stomach illness.
>
> **An kumb <u>um ų̨osda'n</u>.**
> He's coming on Wednesday.ACC.

[5] The prepositions *eter* 'after, along' and *etter* 'after' have the same origin but different usage, pronunciation and meaning, and are hence treated slightly differently grammatically. Therefore, they have been split in this work (cf. Steensland 2021). The second one *etter* is long-syllabic, governs the accusative case, and is used in temporal contexts and when talking about the sequence of something (as in a list). The first one, *eter* is short-syllabic, governs the dative case and is used in other contexts, mostly locational (see Section 9.2.2.2).

Um roughly means 'around' in a few fixed expressions describing body parts.

> **Og an wart grą'll rođ um ogų.**
> And his face turned completely red (lit. 'And he became completely red around the eyes.ACC').

> **Ig ar gart upp jäldn, um eđ ir nån bykall so ir frusin um finggrę.**
> I have lit a fire, in case there is a guest whose fingers are cold (lit. 'who is frozen around the fingers.ACC').

In a spatial context, *um* is frequently compounded, meaning 'of, past', as shown here:

> **Eđ eddađ uorteđ mitjiđ laingger weg, um eddumađ ulađ go westrum sjunn.**
> It would have been a much longer way if we had gone to the west of the lake.ACC.

> **An kåy'tt daitum stugų.**
> He ran past the cottage.ACC.

> **Estn djikk attrum knautn.**
> The horse walked behind the corner.ACC.

9.2.1.4 Wiđ

The simplex preposition *wiđ* 'to, towards' is usually governed by an adjective or a verb (see Section 9.3.1.1):

> **Å war frek wiđ mig.**
> She was kind to me.ACC.

> **An wend sig wiđ eđ.**
> He got used to it.ACC.

In a spatial context, it is commonly used as a part of a compound:

> **An ir westwiđ daitjeđ rett wester frå lađun.**
> He is [west] by the trench.ACC straight to the west from the barn.

> **Grą'll upwiđ raiseđ.**
> Just [up] by the forest.ACC.

9.2.1.5 Attą̊, autą̊ *and other prepositions on -ą̊*

A number of spatial simplex prepositions ending in *-ą̊* govern the accusative (see also the second box in Section 9.1).

> **An add sågað åv fiuor kavel åv noger åv byörkum so an add eddjeð nið <u>sunną̊ stugų</u>.**
> He had cut off four pieces of wood made out of birch, which he had cut down south of the cottage.ACC.
>
> **An war fel <u>inną̊ glaseð</u> og såg ig kam.**
> He was behind the window.ACC and saw that I was coming.
>
> **Ig add so sårु bien <u>niðą̊ kninę</u>.**
> My legs really hurt below the knees.ACC.
>
> **Ien pruovrytter add ainggt upp nån rakkstjinnskasungg ą̊ nån spaik <u>inną̊ dörär</u>.**
> A bagman had hung a dogskin coat on a nail inside (lit. 'inside the door.ACC').

'Without' is expressed by the simplex preposition *autą̊*, for example, *autą̊ dig* 'without you', *autą̊ tä tegg eð* 'without chewing it'. With nouns, however, 'without' is commonly expressed by the suffix *-los* 'less', for example, *jätålos* 'without food', *råðlos* 'helpless, perplexed', *watulos* 'without water' and *ålålos* 'without a tail'.

9.2.2 Prepositions governing the dative case

The prepositions governing the dative case are shown here, and their usages are exemplified in this section.

- *að* 'to'
- *eter* '(remained) after; along; according to'
- *frą̊* 'from'
- *millą̊* 'between'
- *mųota* 'towards, against'
- *nę̨r*, *nę̨randum* 'close to'
- *nest* 'at, by'
- *undą̊* 'away from'
- *yr* 'out of'
- *åv* 'of, from'

9.2.2.1 Að

Að 'to' is often used for motion towards, for example, *að skaulam* 'to school', and to indicate the target of an action, such as *saggd að enner* 'said to her', *yöpt að ånum* 'shouted at him', shown in the examples below. *Að* is highly prone to compounding, frequently in locational contexts; see Section 9.3.

> **Ig ulld int kumå uvsient <u>að skaulam</u>.**
> I wasn't going to be too late to school.DAT.

> **Ig saggd <u>að enner</u> å fikk luv ligg trįuo dågå.**
> I said to her.DAT that she should be in bed for three days.

Moreover, *að* has the following functions. In benefactive constructions, when the action is done for somebody, *suoräð að ånum* 'answered for him':

> **Sę suoräð ig å ien annuons <u>að ånum</u>.**
> Then I answered an ad for him.DAT.

In possessive constructions, *að* denotes the possessor (see also Sections 3.1.3.7 and 5.4):

> **Ið frunder įe flugå järr ringgum ärų <u>að mig</u>.**
> A fly is buzzing around my ears (lit. 'the ears at me.DAT').

> **Ig wet int ukin so ir faðer <u>að kattunggam</u>.**
> I don't know who the father of the kitten.DAT is.

Moreover, *að* expresses how something feels or is experienced by someone, equivalent to 'to' in English:

> **Ið war launggsamt <u>að uoss</u>.**
> We were bored (lit. 'It was boring to us.DAT').

> **Ið werd uvwarmt <u>að mig</u>.**
> It will be too hot for me (lit. 'to me.DAT').

In the meaning 'until', sometimes combined with *tast* 'until' or *framter* 'towards':

> **I dag sov ig <u>að alv åtta</u>.**
> Today, I slept until half past seven.

(tast) <u>að wittrem</u>
in the winter.DAT/until winter comes

framter <u>að juoln</u>
towards Christmas.DAT

Að may form compounds with a variety of adverbs, as can be seen from the examples. *(Dait)að* and *(jцot)að* are often used to mean 'to (but not into)', whereas *daiti/jцoti* is used to mean 'to (and into)'.

Sę fuor ig <u>daitað simmstellę</u> og bįest <u>upað Borgstugun</u>.
Then I went to the swimming place.DAT and directly up to Borgstugå.DAT.

Mes druogum til <u>niðað sjumm</u> war klukką alv fyra.
It was four o'clock when we went down to the lake.DAT.

The compound *inað* is especially used with the meaning 'up against, close to':

Um dier so byddj å Juordn edd stendeð rett upp og nið <u>inað weroðrum</u>, so edd dier wel ryömdas autå ien torre.
If those who lived on Earth were to stand upright next to one another.DAT, they would all fit into one public square.

9.2.2.2 Eter

Eter most commonly means '(remains) after', 'along' and 'according to'.

Ið war blo'tt <u>eter weem</u> ostgainum bynn.
It was soft along the road.DAT through the east side of the village.

Ið syndes lemningger <u>eter stugun</u>.
You could see remains of (lit. 'after') the cottage.DAT.

In non-locational contexts, *eter* may mean 'according to':

Du al rett dig <u>eter dyö</u>.
You shall act accordingly (lit. 'You shall abide by that.DAT').

<u>Eter laem</u>
According to the law.DAT

The preposition *eter* is common in compounds with various adverbial elements in the form *-ter*:

> **Ið bar åv yvyr Wåmų og <u>oster bjärgum</u>.**
> Off we went over Våmån and eastwards along the mountains.DAT.

> **Ig fuor <u>su'tter weem</u> min kuntn og <u>uppter tjyun</u>.**
> I went south along the road.DAT with the birch-bark knapsack and up along the cattle path.DAT.

> **Dier sigleð <u>au'tter övin</u>.**
> They went by boat down along the river.

9.2.2.3 Frå *and* millå

Frå 'from' and *millå* 'between' likewise govern the dative case. In a few expressions, *millå* occurs as a postposition; for example, *gardum millå* 'between the farms', *uoss millå* 'between us'.

> **Ig war bar nån tiugu mįeter <u>frå mųorem</u>.**
> I was just some 20 metres from the wall.DAT.

> **An tuog gryönjakkų <u>frå kruotjem</u>.**
> He took the green jacket from its hook.DAT (lit. 'the hook').

> **<u>Millå trai'mm</u> ärdes ið ur mįesaðir tjiräð og duämärrär wissleð swaguli.**
> Between the trees.DAT, one could hear chirps from the tits and quiet whistles from the bullfinches.

Frå does not form any compounds. *Millå* sometimes does in spatial contexts:

> **Autå tä wår noð brå'tt um stals an åv <u>inmillå stienum</u>.**
> Without being in a hurry, he sneaked in between the stones.DAT.

9.2.2.4 Mųota

The preposition *mųota* can either mean 'towards' or 'against', both in concrete and abstract contexts. It does not form compounds.

> **Påytjin kåy'tt <u>mųot ienum sturum tolle</u>.**
> The boy ran towards a large pine.DAT.

> **Min diem al an fesuorå sig <u>mųot iel wärdn</u>.**
> With those he has to defend himself against the whole world.DAT.

9.2.2.5 Nęr *and* nęrandum

Nęr 'near, close' is often used as an adverb, but may also be used as a preposition:

> **Ig kam so <u>nęr jäldem</u> ið djikk til.**
> I came as close to the fire.DAT as possible.

Nęrandum is mostly found in the expression *int nęrandum* 'not close to'.

> **Amm fel it weð <u>nęrandum</u> Luok isn gaundjin.**
> We haven't been close to Luoka.DAT this time.

9.2.2.6 Nest

Nest is a preposition that can mean 'by', that is, in a position near or next to something:

> **Wegwaisern so stuoð <u>nest weem</u> upå Brutję.**
> The signpost that stood by the road.DAT at Brutjeð.[6]

It is also frequently used in the meaning 'at somebody's house', corresponding to *hos* in Swedish or *chez* in French:

> **Ið saggd an åv fer mig mes ig war <u>nest åm</u>.**
> That is what he told me when I visited him.DAT (lit. 'when I was by him').
>
> **Frunę war <u>nest tannläkeram</u>, men swärmụor og swärfar war iema.**
> His wife was at the dentist's.DAT, but his mother-in-law and father-in-law were at home.

Nest sometimes compounds in spatial contexts:

> **Ig djikk ni'tter ið gardem so ir <u>ostnest ruogardem</u>.**
> I went down to the farm that is to the east by the round-pole fence.DAT.

[6] The old porphyry works in Övdaln.

9.2.2.7 Undą̊

Undą̊ means 'away from' and likewise sometimes conveys the sense of avoidance. It sometimes forms compounds:

> **Rövin dug finn sig ien legu dar fer da'n <u>undą̊ blästem og liuotweðrę</u>.**
> The fox can find itself a lair for the day, away from the wind.DAT and the bad weather.DAT.

> **Krippin so add gemt sig kam gryvlendes <u>autundą̊ tjuoslam</u> að mumun.**
> The child had been hiding and came crawling out from [under] grandmother's skirt.DAT.

Undą̊ is also used in certain expressions to show lineage or relation:

> **<u>Undą̊ ukkum</u> ir du?**
> Who are your parents? (lit. 'from whom.DAT are you?')

> **Etersos an war <u>undą̊ diem</u> so ärd Davið til.**
> Because he was of the house and lineage of David (lit. 'from them.DAT who belonged to David').

9.2.2.8 Yr

Yr means 'out of' and always governs the dative case:

> **Ig tuog liteð ånungg <u>yr glasbuttem</u> ą̊ ien rostfri stjieð.**
> I took some honey out of the glass jar.DAT on a stainless steel spoon.

It is also sometimes used in compounds:

> **Just mes ig kam <u>upyr legun</u> bögles ig autgainum syðerglaseð.**
> Just when I got out of bed.DAT, I looked out [through] the southern window.

> **Krytyrę ulld <u>autyr fjåsę</u> wenn morgun.**
> The cattle had to be out of the barn.DAT every morning.

9.2.2.9 Åv

Åv has the core meanings 'of' or 'by'.

> **Ig add dą̊ laggt i blät fikur <u>åv ymsum slagum</u>.**
> I had left figs of various kinds.DAT to soak.
>
> **Andtaeð ir gart <u>åv wiðim</u>.**
> The handle is made of wood.DAT
>
> **An blendes <u>åv dyö-dar stark liuosę</u> frą̊ imblem.**
> He is blinded by that strong light.DAT from the sky.
>
> **An wakkneð ien ną̊t <u>åv ien liuoðe</u>.**
> He woke up one night because of a sound.DAT.
>
> **An sett sig, <u>åv dyö</u> an war redd.**
> He sat down, as he was afraid (lit. 'of it.DAT').

Åv forms compound prepositions:

> **Wattneð lop i straingg <u>autåv styddję</u> og niði spi'ssn.**
> The water is steadily running down from the chimneypiece.DAT into the stove.
>
> **An räsäð <u>daitåv tatjį</u>.**
> He fell down from the roof.DAT.

9.2.3 Prepositions governing either the accusative or the dative

Some prepositions may govern either the accusative or the dative, depending on their meaning in the clause.

The choice between accusative and dative after the locational prepositions *i*, *under*, *yvyr*, *ą̊* (and compounds with these prepositions) depends on whether the intended meaning is directional (e.g. 'into') or stative (e.g. 'inside'), which will be shown in this section. The simplex prepositions that can govern either case are listed here.

- *firi* 'before'
- *fer* 'for'
- *i* 'in'
- *min* 'with; from'
- *under* 'under'
- *yvyr* 'over'
- *ą̊* 'on'

9.2.3.1 Firi

Firi 'before, in the way for' governs the dative in locational contexts, and the accusative in temporal contexts, similar to the distinction between *eter/etter*.

> **Intnoð war <u>firi åm</u>, indjin skuog, inggų strand.**
> Nothing was in his way (lit. 'in the way for him.DAT'), no forest, no shore.
>
> **Ið byrd ą̊ arbietas ą̊ tä fą̊ til ollt sos ið add werið <u>firi katastrofin</u>.**
> It started to be worked upon in order to restore everything to what it had been before the catastrophe.ACC.

9.2.3.2 Ą̊ *and* i

In spatial expressions, *ą̊* and *i* govern the dative case when referring to static position, but the accusative when referring to direction.

> **Ą̊ kam just nų min krukur <u>ą̊ sykklem</u>.**
> She just came with the flower pots on the bicycle.DAT.
>
> **Ą̊ add laggt aut nog strömingg <u>ą̊ brunę</u> að ånum.**
> She had put out some herring on the bridge.ACC for him.
>
> **Nytjyln so såt <u>i dörum</u> flog launggt autą̊ gardn.**
> The key that was in the door.DAT flew far out into the yard.
>
> **Ą̊ add ien fullan så standend dar <u>i stugun</u>.**
> She had a full tub standing there in the cottage.DAT.
>
> **I stjymmnindjin sett ig in tranustuopan <u>i stugų</u>.**
> In the evening, I put the fireplace hanger in the cottage.ACC.
>
> **Ig wann nett og iemt staig <u>i skuoną</u>.**
> I just managed in time to put on my shoes (lit. 'step in the shoes.ACC').

These prepositions are likewise used in a temporal context, expressed by *ą̊* with the dative, to denote when an action takes place, as in *ą̊ daem* 'in daytime', by *i* with the accusative to denote how long an action takes place, as in *i tųo dågå* 'for two days', and by *i* with the dative to locate an action more precisely in time, as in *mitt i nåtn* 'in the middle of the night'. In temporal expressions with *i* 'in', the accusative is generally used for durative constructions (i.e. 'how long?'), whereas the dative is used for punctual constructions (i.e. 'when?'):

Uą, uą, ukað fuok eð fanns för i tiðn – mjäst sos nų!
Eek, what people there were back in the day.DAT (lit. 'back in the time') – almost like now!

Eð war int so guott mitt i nåtn – witå ur an ulld bjärå sig að.
It wasn't very easy in the middle of the night.DAT – not knowing what to do about it.

Eð pisseð og raingnd, sos eð add gart nų i flier dågå.
It was pouring, just as it had been for some days.ACC now.

However, very often such temporal expressions are constructed merely by declining the nouns in the accusative case and with no preposition; see also Section 3.3.

Dier add faið baið flier dågå.
They had had to wait for several days.ACC.

Ig tjyöpt eð upi bymm wikų so war.
I bought it in the village last week.ACC.

Å and *i* frequently form compounds with a range of adverbial elements, especially in spatial contexts:

Dauvur irå autå gardem.
The pigeons are in the yard.DAT.

Ig minnes mes ig war litn og kam autå gardn um me'nną.
I remember when I was little and used to go out in the yard.ACC in the mornings.

Ig add laggt niði bö'n ien wenest stur sleddju.
I had put a somewhat large sledgehammer in the bag.ACC (lit. 'down-in the bag.ACC').

An add ien launggan bysstor attrå ryddjem.
He had a long shooting stick on his back (lit. 'back on the back.DAT').

Um tųosdågå dans dier min kullum daiti bymm.
On Tuesdays they dance with the girls in the village.DAT (lit. 'there-in the village.DAT').

Auti may sometimes be used synonymously with *i*, for example, *an ir i garasę* or *an ir auti garasę* 'he is in the garage' (see Section 9.3.1). It also means 'out, away in', as in *auti buðum* '(out, away) in the summer pastures'.

Auti also means 'among', as in *auti fuotję* 'among people', as well as 'concerning, about', as in *an ir gnagun auti dyö-dar* 'he is nagging about it'.

9.2.3.3 Fer

Fer has the core meaning 'for', but is used in a wide range of contexts. Etymologically it is related to English 'for', which can be said to be its core meaning. *Fer* has the alternative regional variant *för*. It governs the dative in most contexts, for instance in its locative meaning 'in front of, before'.

> **Ig al umstað tjyöp iet låṣ og set <u>fer båtausą</u> og sjå um ig dug staindj <u>fer tiuovum</u>.**
> I am going to buy a lock to put on the boathouse.DAT, and see if I can keep the thieves out (lit. 'close for the thieves.DAT').

Fer also commonly has the meaning 'because of, owing to', which also governs the dative:

> **Å dugd då int såvå riktut ien ienda nåt <u>fer wertjem</u>.**
> She wasn't able to sleep a single night because of the pain.DAT.
>
> **Ig stelld mig so nęr jäldem eð djikk til <u>fer itåm</u>.**
> I stood as close to the fire as possible given the heat.DAT.

Fer may also govern the accusative in the meaning 'in exchange for', or other contexts that have to do with exchange, such as payment, as shown in the examples here. A common way of saying thank you is *tjär tokk fer* without an object, literally 'dear thanks for'.

> **Å willd it tågå noð bitalt <u>fer tå'n</u> ig fikk.**
> She did not want any payment for the tallow.ACC that I received.
>
> **An tokkeð itj <u>fer låneð</u>.**
> He didn't thank [him/her] for the loan.ACC.

Fer also governs the accusative in temporal and distributive contexts as in the expression *fer … sę* 'ago' or when meaning 'per', that is, *fer dag* or *fer da'n* 'per day'.

> **Ig fikk luv nöðland auti Saharaöken <u>fer sjäks år</u> sę.**
> I had to make a forced landing in the Sahara desert six years.ACC ago.
>
> **An tiuoner tolv stjilingg <u>fer dag</u>.**
> He earns 12 shillings a day.ACC.

Lastly, *fer* also governs the accusative in the meaning 'as, in the capacity of':

> **Dier willd it åvå an fer draingg.**
> They didn't want him as a farmhand.ACC.

Fer is used in a few compound prepositions, often denoting vertical movement:

> **Dier djingg uppfer bokkan.**
> They went up the hill.ACC.
>
> **Ð war sju graðer kollt autfer nörderglasį.**
> It was minus seven degrees outside the north window.DAT.
>
> **Ig såg brindan uvefer bokkam.**
> I saw the elk above the hill.DAT.

9.2.3.4 Min

Min 'with' governs the dative case when the meaning is instrumental, that is, 'by means of, with the help of'.

> **Sę fann ig ien waitbröðslimpend ini skåpę, so ig skar sund min töknaivem.**
> Then I found the end of a loaf of wheat bread in the cupboard, which I cut with a sheath knife.DAT.

The dative is also used when *min* is comitative, that is, 'together with', 'in company with', signifying mutual accompaniment, dealings, fellowship, relationships and so on:

> **Ig fuor og råkeð Nordquist og sta'nneð og akudireð min ånum ien stjyöru.**
> I went to meet Nordquist and stayed and talked with him.DAT for a while.
>
> **Irum släkt min ånum.**
> We are related to him.DAT.

This comitative sense is often also expressed with *i lag min* 'together with', which also governs the dative:

An rai'tt sig og fuor umstað <u>i lag min onum</u>.
He got up and left together with him.DAT.

Min governs the accusative when the object is something that is being transported or led, or something that a person is equipped with:

Ig fikk luv kåyt niði fjåsgaundjin <u>min krukų</u>.
I had to run down the passage with the flower pot.ACC.

Sę add dier kumið daitað bu'n samtiðut, og gubbin <u>min estn</u> og mųor <u>min djietär</u>.
And then they got to the hut at the same time, the man with the horse.ACC and his wife with the goats.ACC.

Min may also mean 'from' with verbs that denote receiving or buying. In these contexts, *min* governs the dative case:

An duoneð iuop timbertullą an add faið <u>min buolaę</u>.
He gathered the timber that he had received from the company.DAT.

Ig tjyöpt ien lampglasbuost <u>min ienum Mųorkall</u>.
I bought a lamp chimney brush from a man from Mora.DAT.

Min also means 'along, by, parallel to' in some compound prepositions:

Ið wekser berę <u>niðmin weem</u>.
There are berries that grow down along the road.DAT.

An byddjer <u>autmin övin</u>.
He lives downstream by the river.DAT.

Ig add eð <u>attmin saiðun</u>.
I suspected as much (lit. 'I had it along the backside.DAT').

9.2.3.5 Under *and* yvyr

Under 'under' and *yvyr* 'over', like *å* and *i*, govern the dative when the meaning implies static position, but the accusative when it implies direction.

An ar äpeð mig min stienum <u>under stugun</u>.
He has helped me with the stones under the cottage.DAT.

Mass fuor sos iet strik in <u>under baureð</u>.
Masse was off like a shot (lit. 'went away like a stroke') down under the log cabin.

<u>Yvyr jäldem</u> aindjer eð ien ketil.
A cauldron is hanging over the fire.DAT.

Ulldum fel far bję̨est <u>yvyr Nessju'nn</u> festå'ss.
We took a shortcut over Lake Nessju'nn.ACC, of course.

The dative is also used in abstract contexts or governed by adjectives or verbs:

<u>Yvyr dyö</u> wart ig it so upi förunder.
I wasn't very surprised by that (lit. 'over that.DAT').

Kunundjin war uvundes faingen an wart kununggg <u>yvyr nogum</u>.
The king was really happy to become king over somebody.DAT.

Yvyr and, less commonly, *under* are used in compound prepositions as well, especially in spatial contexts:

Ið war sandn <u>attrunder etterjuolum</u>.
There was sand under the back wheels.DAT (lit. 'back-under the back wheels.DAT').

I morgus war <u>imiln uppyvyr</u> ą̨sem grann og roð.
The sky over the ridge.DAT was beautiful and red this morning (lit. 'up-over.DAT the ridge').

9.3 Compound and simplex prepositions

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Elfdalian prepositions frequently form compounds with adverbs as their first elements. For instance, *aute* 'out(side)' + *ą̨* 'on' form the compound preposition *autą̨,* literally meaning 'outside on' as in *autą̨ gardem* '(out) in the yard' (cf. English *up* + *on* > *upon*). These adverbial elements are highly frequent, or even obligatory, in some contexts.

Similarly to the use of adverbials plus prepositions in English, compound prepositions in Elfdalian are sometimes used to specify or nuance the location in space or time, for example, *i bilem* 'in the car', but *fråmåni bilem* 'in the front of the car' or *attåni bilem* 'in the rear of the car'. The last two prepositions are compounds with *i*. The same goes for *i wikun so kumb* 'next week' versus *attåni wikun so kumb* 'at the end of next week'.

When analysable, the core meaning of a compound preposition is determined by the last element, for example, *autå* 'outside on' and *inå* 'inside on'. Both mean 'on', but the adverbial elements give additional information about source, path and goal. Moreover, compound prepositions govern the same cases as the corresponding simplex preposition. Hence, *inwið* 'inside by' governs the accusative case, since *wið* governs the accusative.

Only a few adverbs make part of a compound; the ones most prone to compounding are directionals such as *att(r)-* 'behind', *dait-* '(to) there', *fram* 'forward', *in* 'in', *upp* 'up' and the cardinal directions *nord-* 'north', *ost(r)-* 'east', *suð-* 'south' and *west(r)-* 'west'. Certain longer adverbial elements, such as *iemå-* 'from home' or *niðå-* 'from beneath', are less frequently compounded.

The adverbial elements *aut-* 'out', *brott-* 'away', *dait-* 'thereto', *fram-* 'forth', *iem-* 'home', *in-* 'in', *jụot-* 'hereto', *nord-* 'north', *ost-* 'east', *suð-* 'south', *upp-* 'up' and *west-* 'west' represent two adverbs each: a directional adverb, for example, *aut* '[to] outside' or *iem* '[to] home', and the stative adverb *aute* '[at] outside' or *iema* '[at] home', which lose their final vowel when compounded, for example, *auti* (< *aute* '[at] outside' + *i* 'in'), and *auti* (< *aut* '[to] outside' + *i* 'in').

9.3.1 Simplex and compound prepositions and their use

The choice between using a simplex or a compound preposition does not always appear clear-cut and is sometimes flexible, as can be seen in the examples below. However, some rules or tendencies can be distinguished, and these will be covered in this section.

9.3.1.1 The preposition in question

Some prepositions are more prone to compounding than others. For instance, *að* 'to', *i* 'in', *wið* 'to, towards' and *å* 'on' often occur in compounds, whereas *millå* 'between', *nest* 'at, by', *undå* 'away from', *yr* 'out of' and *åv* 'of' are less frequent in compounds, and *frå* 'from' and *mụota* 'against' never occur in compounds.

9.3.1.2 Spatial versus temporal or manner relations

As the adverbial elements in a compound preposition often express source, path or location, they are by far more frequent in spatial contexts, whereas simplex prepositions are more common in temporal or manner contexts, for instance, *upå tatjị* 'on the roof', *auti raisẹ* 'in the forest', but *i såmår* 'this summer', *i iett år* 'for one year'.

In some cases compound prepositions convey time or manner, for example, *upå 1600-talị* 'in the seventeenth century', *upå laindje* 'in a long time', *upå eð wised* '(lit. 'in') this way'.

Spatial relations may also be expressed either with a simplex preposition or a compound preposition; for example, *i buðum* versus *upi buðum* 'on the summer pastures (shielings)'. The choice has been said to express slight nuances. For instance, in many cases a simplex preposition indicates habituality or expectedness, whereas a compound preposition indicates a more temporary or unexpected location.

So war eð <u>i buðum</u> för.
Such was life in the shielings back in the day.

Ig råkeð an mes ig war <u>upi buðum</u>.
I met him while I was in the shielings.

Eð ir ien duk <u>å buordę</u>.
There is a cloth on the table (as it usually is and expected to be).

Eð ir ien duk <u>upå buordę</u>.
There is a cloth on the table (more unexpectedly/temporarily; for example, a cloth one has been looking for).

9.3.1.3 With place names

Inflected place names are usually expressed with a compound preposition, whereas non-inflected place names may take either; for instance *upå Klittem* 'in Klittn', *daiti Laiðn* 'in Laiðę', but *i (niði) Falu* 'in Falun', *i Stokkol* 'in Stockholm'. The simplex preposition *að* is generally only used before non-inflected place names; for example, *að Mụora* 'to Mora', although there are exceptions.

9.3.1.4 Fixed idioms

Some fixed idioms use simplex prepositions, for example, *i stelle* 'instead', *å sytn* 'pregnant', *i å'ss*, 'just now, a short while ago', *å snịeð* 'aslant, askew', whereas others use compound prepositions, for example, *upi ferunder* 'astonished' and *upå laindje* 'in a long time'.

9.4 Phonology of prepositions

9.4.1 Stress and accent

Certain compounds are accented with two separate stresses, indicating that they may in fact be two separate words. For instance, *attmillå* 'back between' has the same accent pattern as a particle verb such as *upp yvyr* 'jump over'. For this reason, some compounds may be analysed as two separate words. For orthographical reasons, however, some of these cannot be written as such. For instance, in *attryvyr* 'back over', the first element *attr-* cannot be written as a separate word, because a written word cannot end in *-tr*.

In addition, the pronunciation often differs depending on the use of the compound as a preposition or an adverb. When used as a preposition, the stress is often on the first element, and the entire compound receives an acute accent; for instance, *autyvyr* 'out and over' /ɑʉt̪ˈʏ̀vʏr/ (adverb) versus [ɑ́ʉt̪ʏvʏr] (preposition).

The unstressed nature of prepositions often leads to different types of reductions, for instance neutralising the pitch accent and making a preposition phonetically short-syllabic; for example, *millå* as *milå*.

9.4.2 Reductions and assimilations

The adverbial elements of compound prepositions are based on full adverbs, but are in many cases reduced in compounds; for example, *atter* 'behind' *att(r)-*, *oster* 'to the east' *ost(r)-*. In this case the *-r* is lost before another consonant, hence *ostyrvyr* ('eastwards over', < *oster* 'east' + *yvyr* 'over') but *ostmin* ('eastwards along', < *oster* 'east' + *min* 'with, along').[7]

Likewise, the original final *-n* has been lost in prepositions such as *fråmå* 'in front of' (< ON *framan*), and also in compounds before consonants, but not before vowels, hence *fråmåter* 'from above' (< *fråmå* 'in front of' *-ter* (ultimately from *eter*) 'after, along'), but *fråmånað* 'just in front of' (< *fråmå* 'in front of' + *að* 'to').

Reduction has also occurred in the prepositional element *-ter*, which etymologically comes from *eter* 'after; along', but is reduced in compounds such as *iemter* 'homewards along' (< *iem* 'home' + *eter* 'along').

In some cases assimilation or reduction occurs; for example, *norter* 'north along' (< *nord-* 'north' + *-ter* 'along'). The words *uppter* and *uppfer* may be pronounced *uffter* and *uffer*. The words *dai'tter, jǫo'tter, ni'tter* and *su'tter* may also be pronounced *daitter*, *jǫotter*, *nitter* and *sutter* without preserving the original vowel length.

[7] Some exceptions exist, e.g. *ostum*, *westum*.

9.5 Prepositions versus adverbs

Some Elfdalian prepositions and verbal particles are homonymous (see Section 7.2.13). A sequence of a verb + a preposition (e.g. *'kumå frå* 'come from') and a phrasal verb (e.g. *kum 'frå* 'get away, get off (i.e. work)') can be distinguished from each other, as the particle in phrasal verbs is stressed, whereas the preposition in constructions with a verb + preposition is unstressed.

Many prepositions and adverbs are likewise homonyms; for example, *iemyvyr* 'homewards, toward home' (adverb) versus *iemyvyr* 'homewards and over' (preposition). The pronunciation may vary depending on whether the word is used prepositionally or adverbially; see Section 9.4. Despite differences in pronunciation, homonymic prepositions and adverbs are usually spelt identically, regardless of whether they are used as a preposition or an adverb – hence the consistent spelling *millå* even though it is often reduced to *milå* when used as a preposition. Exceptions are compound prepositions on *upp-*; for example, the prepositions *upå* and *upi* versus the adverbs *uppå* and *uppi*. The reason behind the different spellings is that the meaning differs: *upi* meaning '(up) in/to' and *uppi* usually meaning 'upwards'. In addition, these prepositions are often lexically short-syllabled, even in focus position, unlike the adverbs, and unlike, for example, *millå*. A similar word where such a spelling distinction is present is for *eter* (preposition) versus *etter* (adverb).

An 'fuor eter estum.
He looked for the horses (verb + preposition).

An fuor 'etter estum.
He went to get the horses (verb + verbal particle).

9.6 The prepositional phrase

The prepositional phrase consists of a preposition and its complement. The complement is often a noun phrase (see Chapter 3); for instance a noun, for example, *upå buordę* 'on the table', a pronoun, for example, *að mig* 'to me', or a proper name, for example, *fer Gunnar* 'for Gunnar'.

In most cases, the preposition precedes its complement. However, in a few prepositional phrases, the preposition may follow the complement (i.e. strictly a post-positional phrase), for example, *gardum millå* 'between farms'.

The complement may also be an adverbial phrase, for example, *tast i morgų* 'until tomorrow', *fer i dag* 'for today', or an entire subordinate clause, for example, *ig kam tä taintj å at ig ulld auti Tyjörtjbynn* 'it occurred to me that I was going to go to Tjyörtjbynn'. Less frequently, the complement of a preposition may be the infinitive phrase, for example, *an sweg ruoveð sett ielt, autå tä tegg eð* 'he swallows his prey whole, without chewing it'.

A prepositional phrase often functions as:

- the object of a verbal phrase:

  Å kuogäð å mig.
  He looked at me.

  An taintjer bar å sig siuov.
  He only thinks about himself.

- an adverb:

  Dier war i Mųora.
  They were in Mora.

  Ig wart unggrun firi middag.
  I became hungry before noon.

- an attribute within a noun phrase:

  An såg ien bild åv ien ruos.
  I saw a picture of a rose.

  Eð frunder įe flugå järringgum ärų að mig.
  A fly is buzzing around my ears (lit. 'the ears at me').

- a predicate:

  Å war å sytn.
  She was pregnant.

10
Conjunctions

A conjunction is a word that links phrases, clauses or words with each other. Conjunctions are divided into three subcategories: coordinating, correlative and subordinating.

10.1 Coordinating conjunctions

These join clauses or clause elements of the same kind with each other, for example, joining two subjects: *Ingger og ig fygdesum að* 'Inger and I walked the same way'; and joining two main clauses: *I nåt ar eð weð koldgraðer, men nu blotär eð* 'Last night it has been below zero, but now it's raining'.

The most common coordinating conjunctions are shown in the box below.

- *fer* 'for, because'
- *eld* 'or'
- *en, en se* 'and, how about'
- *men* 'but'
- *og* 'and; in order to' (indicating consequence (see also Section 7.2.2.2))
- *og* 'and, although'
- *og* 'but'
- *og* 'like' (with *laik, slais, summu*)
- *so* 'so' (indicating consequence)
- *åtå* 'but' (when following a negative proposition and contradicting it)

Notes:

- For *og* 'like' (with *laik, slais, summu*), see under the three subordinating conjunctions, respectively, in Section 10.3.
- For *åtå* 'but', regional variants are *etå* and *otå*.

Ið ir fel twär <u>eld</u> trjär graðer warmt aute.
It is probably plus two or three degrees outdoors (lit. 'two or three degrees warm').

<u>En sę</u> du?
How about you?

Ið ir <u>fer</u> du ụogås ruosn.
It's because you take care of the rose.

An låt an ir dålin <u>men</u> al då að raisę og ogg essyrtjeð etter jågdę.
He says he is ill, but he will still be going to the forest after the weekend to cut some wood for the hay-drying rack.

Aikuonn war mager <u>og</u> wisäl.
The squirrel was meagre and wretched.

'Itjä nụ', låt ið åv Wiktor, <u>og</u> Lennart saggd: 'Naj'!
'Not now', it sounds like from Wiktor, and Lennart said 'No!'

Ur mikkel gryönsaker du jät <u>og</u> ir int tundjin.
How many vegetables you eat although (lit. 'and') you are not forced to.

Uoss ir saiend <u>og</u> it fyörend.
We are to keep it between us (lit. 'It is for us to say but not to carry (forward)').

Ið sir aut so ið edd wilað werd våtweðreð og ig kann då ingg livendes råð, <u>åtå</u> ið får war wen weðer ið will fer mig.
It seems as if it was going to be rainy (lit. 'as if it had wanted to become wet weather') and I'm at the end of my tether, but as far as I'm concerned there can be any weather (lit. 'it may be what weather it wants for me').

Las-Ierk kam min ien lapp, <u>so</u> ig al að Ruot <u>og</u> lęs att iet puostfeskott að ånum, <u>fer</u> ið-dar puostkantoreð ir stainggt.
Las-Ierk came with a piece of paper, so I should go to Ruot to collect a cash on delivery for him, as the post office is closed.

10.1.1 Consecutive *og*

Several coordinating conjunctions *og* 'and' are used in the same sentence, rather than using several clause elements and *og* before the last element:

Ig fuor aut og muką.
I went out to shovel (the snow).

Dar amm gart frą uoss, goum wįð in og drikkum kaffi.
After finishing work, we go inside to drink some coffee.

10.2 Correlative conjunctions

Similarly to coordinating conjunctions (see Section 10.1), these join words, phrases or clauses. Correlative conjunctions, however, always appear in pairs, for example, 'neither... nor...': *Dier edd int byövt tjyöp warken sild eld skarrfisk min diem* with *warken... eld...*. 'They would neither need to buy cod nor stockfish from them'. Some common correlative conjunctions are listed here.

- *anaðdier ... eld...* 'either ... or...'
- *boð ... og...*, *boð og* (in sentence-final position) 'both ... and...; also; even'
- *diels ... diels...* 'partially ... partially...'
- *dyö ... dyö(s)...* 'the ... the...'
- *en ... en...* 'sometimes ... and sometimes...'
- *iettdier ... eld...* 'either .... or...'
- *int bar ... åtą ... og* 'not only ... but also...'
- *int ... eld...* 'neither ... nor...'
- *int ... og...* 'neither ... nor...'
- *so ... so...* 'as ... as...'
- *ukað ... eld...*, *ukaðdier... eld...* 'either ... or...; no matter if ... or...'
- *warken...eld...* 'neither ... nor...'

Ig war boð swettun og autferin.
I was both sweaty and exhausted.

Ig ar apt nað djärå boð aut og inne.
I had something to do both outdoors and indoors.

Ig tyttjer, boð ig og, an ar weð liuotknipun.
I, too (lit. 'both I also'), think that he has been very competent.

An kumb att nų og kringger sig boð og.
He is coming back now and is also/even hurrying.

Dyö mįer tiðę gor dyö glaðera far ig kenn mig.
The more time goes by, the happier I begin to feel.

Dier fåråå en að yöger, en að wįster.
They are going sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left.

Ukað ig, eld du, ulum dait, ulum wįð far rað weg.
No matter if I, or you, will go there, we shall go immediately.

Enn dugd ig it warken sjå eld är inggan eller.
Yet I could (lit. 'not') neither see nor hear anybody (lit. 'nobody') else.

10.3 Subordinating conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions link a subordinate clause to a main clause; for example, *Mes Sofia wakkneð oðer da'n kringgeð å sig aut* 'When Sofia woke up on the next day she hurried outside' and *Ig fikk yöv til noð åv noger wiso an add dykað upp so underli* 'I began to grasp somehow why he popped up in such a strange manner'. Some common subordinating conjunctions are listed here.

- adverbs in the superlative in an equative function, for example, *straiðest* 'as quickly as'
- *at* 'that'
- *dar* 'when' (see also Section 10.3.1)
- *dar* 'since' (reason)
- *dar, dar so* 'where'
- *då* 'because, since' (reason)
- *en* 'than'
- *en* 'if, whether'
- *en sę* 'and, how about.QUEST.ADV'
- *end ses, end sę* 'ever since'
- *etersos* 'because, since'
- *fast (og)* 'even though'
- *feld* 'before'

- *ifall* 'in case; if'
- *innå* 'before'
- *laik og* 'as'
- *emmę, emmes* 'while'
- *mę, mes* 'while; as long as; when; after' (see also Section 10.3.1)
- *ses* 'since'
- *slais, slais og* 'like, as, as if'
- *so* 'which; who'
- *so* 'so that; in order that' (including *bar so*)
- *sos* 'like, as, as if'
- *summu og* 'the same as'
- *tast* 'until', *end tast* 'right until'
- *um* 'if'
- *um en* 'even though'
- *uonde når* 'whenever'
- *uonde ur* 'however'
- *uonde war* 'wherever (location)'
- *uonde wert* 'wherever (direction)'
- *wessn* 'every time'

Note: The word *en* 'if, whether' has limited use in this sense.

Kelindję saggd fer nog wiku eld oder sę <u>at</u> å edd wilað åvå slaikų ber.
My wife (lit. 'the wife/woman') said about a week ago that she would have liked to have such berries.

Rutt-Lass, so iegd eld arrendireð plassn, <u>dar</u> ig willd legg lasseð, war i Kelinggbjärr.
Rutt-Lass, who owned or leased the place where I wanted to put the pile, was in Kelinggbjärr.

Dier fros ijel i Rysland, <u>dar so</u> eð war tjyöldę.
They froze to death in Russia, where there was frost.

Du al få eð-dar min mig <u>då</u> du ir frek.
You will get that from me because you are kind.

Ig spuord Smiðs-faðer <u>en</u> an truo'dd at noger duomer add stellt til upå eð wiseð.
I asked the father at Smið farm whether he thought that some judge had set it up in that way.

iet briev mjäst laik sturt og an siuov
a letter almost as big as himself

Feld an fikk isan storn add an ien so war diger og stark.
Before he got that stick, he had one that was thick and strong.

Masse kurred mjäst an dugde.
Masse purred as much as he could.

An kuogäð að mig slais an wiss wen ig tainkte.
He looked at me as if he knew what I was thinking.

Ig tykkt eð knäpäð å glaseð, slais nogär edd að apt ien lisslan stie og knakkað å glaseð min.
I thought it was knocking (lit. 'it knocked') on the window, as if someone had a small stone and knocked with it on the window (lit. 'and knocked on the window with').

An djärd so iel auseð wart slais og fetryllt.
He caused the house to seem enchanted (lit. 'He made so the whole house was like enchanted').

Å add laið kwer, sos um å edd að däeð.
She had been lying without moving, as if she had died.

Ig myött Salig-Andes so kam linkend min storn sos an pler.
I met Salig-Andes, who came limping with a stick as he usually does.

An släkt i sig mjotję straiðest an dugde.
He sucked/drank up the milk as quickly as he could.

Uonde wert ig kumb, so swensk dier, og ig kann it swensk ig.
Wherever I arrive, they speak Swedish, and I don't speak any Swedish myself.

The following interrogative adverbs and pronouns serve as subordinators in embedded interrogative clauses.

- *når* 'when' (including *sę når* 'since when')
- *ukin (so)* 'who; how' (describing a character or a look)
- *ur* 'how' (including complex interrogative particles such as *ur laindje* 'how long', *ur mitjið* 'how much')
- *wen (so)* 'what'
- *wiso* 'why'

Ig wet it <u>ukin so</u> ir faðer að kattem.
I don't know who the cat's father is.

Ig wet it <u>ukin</u> an såg aut.
I don't know what he looked like.

Ig lär få sjå <u>wen so</u> ir nöðugest.
I (guess I will) see what is most necessary (to do).

Mun mąi willd sjå etter <u>wiso</u> slagur add sta'nnað åv.
My mother wanted to check why the flails have stopped.

10.3.1 Temporal subordinating conjunctions

Dar and *mes* are the most common subordinating conjunctions used with time. Their use partially overlaps. Both conjunctions can be used for past, present and future events or actions.

In the past, *mes* (or *mę*) often refers to one single action, for example, *mes å war ungg* 'when she was young' or *mes ig wakkneð i morgus* 'when I woke up this morning'. *Dar*, on the other hand, often refers to a habitual or repeated action, for example, *Dar an war druttjin bruked an sai slaikt* 'When he was drunk, he used to say such things.' In these uses of *mes* and *dar*, the verbs in both the subordinate and main clause are in the past tense. However, when the pluperfect is used in the subordinate clause and the past tense in the main clause, these conjunctions acquire the meaning 'after' and refer to a preceding action or event, for example, *Mes ig add laið ien stjyöru kam ig ijug nod*. 'After I had been lying.PLUP down for some time, something crossed.PST my mind.' and *Dar an add jäldað mjotję wart å guoð* 'After one had heated.PLUP the milk, it became.PST good'.

In the present and the future, *mes* and *mę* often denote 'while' or 'as long as' and *dar* denotes 'when' or 'whenever', for example, *Ig lär få slut skriev mes eð ir dagsliuoseð* 'I guess I should stop writing while I have daylight', *Rattjin swisker rumpun dar nogär kumb* 'The dog wags his tail whenever someone arrives' and *Dar du werd stur du kanstji flytter frå Övdalim* 'When you grow up, you will maybe move away from Övdaln.' To express consecutive actions in the present or in the future, the subordinate clause contains the finite verb in the perfect tense, and the main clause contains the finite verb in the present or in the future tense.

Some examples with *mes*:

<u>Mes</u> ig add ärt ið an add sai åv, so fygd an mig aut.
After I had heard what he had to tell, he accompanied me out.

<u>Mes</u> an add stendeð upp å bryddjun ien stjyöru räsäð an autåv.
After he had stood on the bridge for a while, he fell down.

<u>Mes</u> å wermd mjotję að kattem, so kuokeð å ien kafiskwekt að sig siuov samtiðut.
While she was heating some milk for the cat, she cooked a sip of coffee for herself at the same time.

<u>Mes</u> ig kam upað iennweem, stuoð ið ien wiðålassbil dar og bai'dde.
When I had arrived at the railway, a truck with a load of wood was waiting there (lit. 'was standing there waiting').

Mųor add bisyök <u>mes</u> ig kam.
My wife had a visitor when I arrived.

<u>Mes</u> Alfrið livd brukeð an sai åv mikkel slaiku.
As long as Alfrið was alive, he used to tell many such things (lit. 'much such').

Å minnd å sig å add buoðið til iesn yrvel til að sig siuov, <u>mes</u> å add lurað sig i ien krokketspili.
She remembered that she had tried to slap herself once, when she had cheated to herself while playing croquet.

Some examples with *dar*:

<u>Dar</u> an war druttjin og å guoðlaę so brukeð an sai að slaikum so an tykkt war kuotuliger: "Ið wär lagum kweðå sos dier kwað i Norre."
When he was drunk and in a good mood, he used to tell such (people) whom he found sluggish: 'It would be suitable to sing like they used to sing in Norway'.

<u>Dar</u> ig ulld upi lovlaðų eld et tjyöls brukeð ig dai'tter og finn fiskmakkų i estdyndjstattjem.
When I was going to the leaf barn (a barn used to store sepals in) or to the wilderness, I used to go there (i.e. to that farm) to find fish worms in the stack of horse dung.

<u>Dar</u> mikkel rigåvur irå ą̊ summu stell kunn dier wåra starker.
When there are many squalls in the same place, they can be strong.

Lärum fel sją̊ um kattn kumb fram <u>dar</u> Karin kumb.
I guess we will see if the cat will show up when Karin arrives.

<u>Dar</u> amm gart frą̊ uoss goum wįð in og drikkum kaffi.
When we have finished our work, we will go in and drink some coffee.

11
Interjections and common phrases

This chapter accounts for interjections, as well as common greetings and politeness phrases. An interjection is a word, phrase or inarticulate utterance expressing exclamation or emotion and may consist of different parts of speech. The interjection stands outside the clause from a syntactic angle.

11.1 Affirmations

Some important affirmations:

- *ja* 'yes' (as a reaction to an affirmative question or statement)
- *ja* 'oh'
- *ju* 'yes' (often as a reaction to a negative question or statement)
- *mm*/m̀ːm̩/ 'yes' (used colloquially)
- *jasso* 'oh, I see'
- *o* 'oh, I see'
- *jawisst* 'yes, most certainly' (expressing a stronger agreement than *ja*)

Eddið wilað yr aut stugų og åvå djästą i buðum i såmår? Ja, eð bruker nųfel war trivlit min djästum.
Would you like to let your cottage and have (some) guests in the summer pasture this summer? Yes, it is usually pleasant to have guests over (lit. 'with guests').

Ar du it duonað fram noð enn, bar setið noger og ärt ą̊? Ja, iss-jär kallär!
Haven't you put anything on the table yet? Have you just been sitting there listening? Oh yes, these men!

Såg du it noð jär i by nossn og, iem dain? Ju, eð war bårådriteð, eð.
Haven't you ever seen anything here in the village back home (lit. 'at your home')? Yes (I did), it was the damn *bari* (or 'troll cat').

Fą̊r ig war jär um ną̊t? Mm.
May I stay here for the night? Yes.

11.2 Denials

Some important denials:

- *nai, naj* 'no'
- *näi, näj* 'no'
- *m'm/ˈʔm̩̀ʔm̩ː/* 'no' (informal and less polite)
- *ę'ę* 'no' (informal and less polite)

Notes:
- The pronunciation of *nai* implies two syllables, whereas *naj* implies one syllable.
- The pronunciation of *näi* implies two syllables, whereas *näj* implies one syllable.

Ar du gemt karamellą i kafikwenn? Ę'ę.
Did you hide the sweets (or some sweets) in the coffee-mill? No.

Avið uonneð slå? Näj, amm it uonneð.
Have you managed (or had the time) to mow? No, we haven't.

11.3 Exclamations of concern or fright

Some important exclamations of concern or fright are as follows:

- *guð jåp sig* 'oh dear'
- *guð jåp uoss* 'oh dear'
- *jälpųorärra* 'oh dear'
- *twi* 'oh dear' (expressing disgust)
- *twi werde* 'oh dear' (expressing disgust)
- *u* 'oh, oh dear' (expressing concern, fright or disgust)
- *ųa, men ųa* 'oh dear' (expressing concern or fright)
- *uan sig, men uansig* 'oh dear' (expressing concern or fright, more expressive than *u, ųa* and *men ųa*)

”Men ụa, ukin wask” saggd mumun fuost gaundjin å såg Masse.
‘Oh dear, what a poor creature’, said Grandma the first time she saw Masse.

Ụa, ur kold du ir!
Oh dear, you are so cold!

11.4 Further dialogue particles

The following dialogue particles express explanation, agreement, surprise or excitement:

- *au, auauau* ‘oh, wow’ (expressing surprise, often positive)
- *festår du* ‘you understand’
- *ju* ‘well’ (initially in the sentence: introducing a statement, question or answer)
- *oj* ‘oh, wow’ (expressing surprise or excitement)
- *saium* so ‘let’s say that’ (expressing agreement)
- *sir du* ‘you see’
- *sjå!* ‘here!’
- *uff* ‘ugh’ (expressing anger)
- *uffuffuff* ‘ugh’ (a strong expression of anger)
- *wassara, wassara tri* ‘wow’ (expressing surprise, sometimes admiration)
- *ånnå ånnå* ‘oh, wow’ (expressing surprise or excitement)

Au, ur tiðę far!
Oh, wow, how time flies!

Auauau, ję prinsesskraungin!
Oh, wow, a princess crown!

Auauau, ur duktig du ar uorteð kåyta!
Wow, you have become so good at running!

Saium ’irum i Övdalim’. O! Ir eð so an al saia?
We say ‘irum i Övdalim’ (lit. ‘we are in Övdaln’). Oh (or I see)! Is that how you should say it?

Oj, ur mitjið eddum apt akudir um!
Wow, we would have so much to talk about!

<u>Ånnå annå</u>, ier du so mitjið!
Oh, wow, you own so many things (lit. 'so much').

11.5 Greetings and politeness phrases

Many of the Elfdalian greetings and politeness phrases are nativised forms of Swedish greetings (either phonologically adapted or translated literally); for example, *gunatt* 'good night' is based on Swedish *godnatt* rather than Elfdalian **guoðnåt*. Likewise, *stå å dig* 'stick up for yourself, be well' is based on Swedish *stå på dig* rather than Elfdalian, which would have been **stott/stand å dig*. Yet other expressions are more recent Elfdalian renderings of Swedish greetings, such as *råkums* and *sjåums* 'see you later' (Swedish *vi ses* lit. 'we see each other', that is, 'see you later').

Some native Elfdalian speakers report that some expressions, such as 'hello' or 'goodbye', were not common in traditional society: people would usually get to the point when meeting each other, and likewise finalise a conversation and social interaction without needing to signal it verbally.

11.5.1 Greetings

Some greetings are shown in the box below.

- *öj, höj, häj* 'hello, hi'
- *gusin* 'hello'
- *gudag* 'good day'
- *gumårån* 'good morning'
- *gunatt* 'good night'
- *gukweld* 'good evening'
- *fari wel.*SG, *farið wel.*PL 'goodbye, farewell'
- *häj so laindje, häj solaindj* 'goodbye, so long'
- *häj då* 'goodbye'
- *råkums* 'see you later'
- *saium so* 'let's say so' (also used to mark the end of an interaction)
- *sjåums* 'see you later'
- *stå å dig (tast kringger)* 'stick up for yourself; be well (until next time)'
- *welkumin.*SG, *welkumner.*PL 'welcome'

Notes:
- The expression *saium so* is sometimes used to signal the end of a conversation or an encounter.

- The expression *stå ą dig* is a calque of Swe. *stå på dig*.
- The feminine form of *welkumin* should be *welkumį* according to the paradigm, but this form is not attested.

Men <u>häj</u> ą dig! Ar du sovið guott?
Hi (lit. 'on you')! Have you slept well?

Ą war so brå'tt um, so ą war int liðug sai <u>'gudag'</u> dyö.
She was in such a hurry that she didn't even have time to say 'good day' (*int dyö* means 'not even').

Ð war liuottrivlit glåmå min dig. <u>Sjąums</u> sę!
It was very pleasant talking to you. See you later (lit. 'we see each other later').

<u>Welkumin</u> att/<u>welkumin</u> atter!
Welcome back.SG!

11.5.2 Politeness phrases

- *dyö summu* 'likewise'
- *sę* 'you are welcome' (answer to 'thank you')
- *summulund* 'likewise'
- *takk* 'thank you'
- *tjär tokk fer* 'thank you very much'
- *tjär tokk fer* + object 'thank you very much for + object'
- *wari so guoð*.SG, *warið so guoðer*.PL 'here you are' (when offering something)
- *ånną* 'please'

<u>Tjär tokk</u> fer kaffi!
Thanks a lot for the coffee!

<u>Ånną</u>, biunder mig endą.
Please admire me anyway.

<u>Ånną</u>, warið main wenner.
Please be my friends.

12
Clause structure and word order

This chapter summarises Elfdalian clause structure and word order. The first part depicts the main clause types, whereas the second presents further relevant aspects. Two Elfdalian clause types are described, for the main and the subordinate clause.

As most Germanic languages, Elfdalian is a subject–verb–object and a V2 language, the latter implying that the finite verb normally occurs in the second position in the main clause. However, as this chapter shows, Elfdalian demonstrates some differences from other (North) Germanic languages.

12.1 Straight and reverse word order

Straight word order means that the *subject* precedes the finite verb, whereas reverse word order means that the *finite verb* precedes the subject; for example, *Masse fuor in under saindję* 'Masse went under the bed' (straight word order) and *Under saindję fuor Masse in.* (reverse word order, as the sentence starts with 'under the bed'). Whether a clause has straight or reverse word order affects the use of the subject pronouns *wįð* 'we' and *ið* 'you.PL' with verbs (see also Section 7.3.5).

12.1.1 In the main clause

If the subject is in the topic position in the declarative clause, the clause has a straight word order, for example, *Ig ir järʼ* 'I am here'. If any other element than the subject is in the topic position, the clause most frequently has a reverse order, for example, *Järʼ ir ig* 'Here I am' (see Section 12.2).

12.1.2 In the subordinate clause

In a subordinate clause, the word order is straight, for example, [*Å saggd*] *å ir järʼ* '[She said] she is here'. Or [*Ig undres å*] *når an kumb* '[I am wondering when he is coming]'.

12.2 The main clause

The model applied here takes its point of departure in the yes/no question clause sub-type of the main clause (as shown in Table 12.1, sentence d), used as a basic clause model for all the remaining clause sub-types, from which they differ through various shifts. Those shifts are marked by arrows in Table 12.1.

The main clause has four main functions, presented in Table 12.1: 1) Statement, 2) Yes/no question, 3) W-question, 4) Command, as well as in the examples a. to f. These are be accounted for more extensively in the sub-sections that follow.

Free translations of the example sentences in Table 12.1 are as follows:

a. *Rattjin ar fel it ietið tjyöteð idag* 'The dog hasn't eaten any meat today' (nominal 1 is topicalised).
b. *Tjyöteð ar fel rattjin it ietið idag* 'The dog hasn't eaten any meat today' (nominal 2 is topicalised).
c. *Eð ien rakk å gardem* 'There was a dog (standing) in the yard' (or 'A dog was standing in the yard').
d. *Ar rattjin it ietið tjyöteð idag?* 'Hasn't the dog eaten any meat today?' (lit. 'Has the dog not', etc.).
e. *Wiso ar rattjin it ietið tjyöteð idag?* 'Why hasn't the dog eaten any meat today?'
f. *Jät it tjyöteð idag* 'Don't eat.IMP.SG any meat today'.

12.2.1 The declarative clause

The declarative main clause may begin with any of the three following elements in the topic position:

1) The subject (see Table 12.1, a.)
2) A topicalisation of adverbial 1, adverbial 2 or nominal 2. Thus, the topicalised element is emphasised (see Table 12.1, b.).

Table 12.1 Position scheme for the main clause

	Topic	Finite verb	Adverbial 1	Nominal 1	Adverbial 2	Non-finite verb	Nominal 2	Adverbial 3
	1. Statement							
a.	**Rattjin** Dog-the	**ar** has	**fel** FEL	<=	**it** not	**ietið** eaten	**tjyöteð** meat-the	**idag** today
b.	**Tjyöteð** Meat-the	**ar** has	**fel** FEL	**rattjin** dog-the	**it** not	**ietið** eaten	<=	**idag** today
c.	**Eð** There	**ar** has	**fel** FEL	**ien rakk(e)** a dog		**standeð** stood		**å gardem** in the yard
	2. Yes/no question							
d.	_	**Ar** Has		**rattjin** dog-the	**it** not	**ietið** eaten	**tjyöteð** meat-the	**idag?** today?
	3. W-question							
e.	**Wiso** Why	**ar** has		**rattjin** dog-the	**it** not	**ietið** eaten	**tjyöteð** meat-the	**idag?** today?
	4. Command							
f.	–	**Jät** Eat		–	**it** not		**tjyöteð** meat-the	**idag** today

Note: *Fel* doesn't have an equivalent in English and is thus not translated in this chapter. For more about the meaning and function of the word, see Section 8.1.1.

3) The formal subject *eð*, a so-called place holder for the 'real subject'. In this case, the real subject of the clause appears in the nominal 1 position (cf. English 'there' in a clause such as 'There is a dog in the house') (see Table 12.1, c.).

In these examples, the subject in the topic position is underlined:

<u>Ig</u> wart gainumwåt mes uokum stieną og iet lass åv skräp frå gardem.
I became soaking wet as we drove some stones and a load of waste from the farm.

<u>Du</u> ir ien riktun latwål.
You are a real lazybones.

<u>Eð</u> ir flygmasin menn.
It is my aeroplane.

<u>Iembuðär</u> låg nęr innað byum og bruktes fråmåni og attåni sumbrem.
The close summer pastures were located close to the villages and were used at the beginning and end of the summer.

<u>Lågum</u> fel i summu ruom sos fåder og muna.[1]
We were all sleeping in the same room as Dad and Mum.

<u>Lärern</u> såg it an nöð kringgt.
The teacher used not to see him that often.

In these examples, the non-subject topicalised element is underlined:

<u>Millå tjyörtjun og prestgardem i Tjyörtjbymm i Övdalim</u> stand tjyörtjbaureð.
Between the church and the vicarage in Tjyörtjbynn in Övdaln stands the church's log cabin.

<u>Sę</u> fyöst dier tyską fråmånað sig end daiti Berlin.
Then they drove away the Germans in front of themselves the whole way to Berlin.

[1] The subject is included in the finite verb here (see Section 7.3.5).

Eð ar uorteð tyst og int add an si'tt til nogum dar elde.
It has become silent and one couldn't see anyone there either (the negation *int* is topicalised).

Itjä rið ig fer dyö-dar.
I couldn't help it (the negation *itjä* is topicalised).

Naug måið truo at dugdum ųogås slagun, so in sluoum iel wenanan.
You should certainly believe that we managed to take care of the flail, so we didn't kill each other (*naug* 'certainly' is topicalised).

Kollt ir eð og sniųostattjin ollsta'ss.
It is cold and there are piles of snow everywhere (*kollt* 'cold' is topicalised).

Examples with the formal subject *eð* in the topic position:

Eð stuoð twer kaller niðå gardem.
There were two men in the yard (lit. 'standing down in the yard').

Eð såt trair småfugler upi ien eppeltrai.
There were three small birds sitting on an apple tree.

Eð kam dumbą i kwells.
Fog came last night (lit. 'There came fog last evening').

12.2.2 The yes/no question clause

In this type of main clause, the topic position is empty, whereas the subject is in the nominal 1 position (see Table 12.1, d.).

This type of yes/no main clause is considered the basic one from the structural angle, as the initial field is empty and no movements take place in the clause, according to the current model. As the topic position is empty, this type of clause starts with the finite verb in the finite verb position.

In these examples, the finite verb is underlined:

Djikk kniepą gainum?
Did the button go through?

Fy sę krippär og?
What about the kids?[2] Are they joining in, too?

[2] *Sę* has the meaning 'what about' in this context.

<u>Ar</u> du twaið ferdugan dig nų?
Have you finished washing yourself already (lit. 'Have you finished yourself ready now')?

<u>Al</u> du it kum jųot, so ig når að klå dig?
Will you not come here, so I will manage to scratch you?

<u>Ar</u> it du sterkera glasog?
Don't you have stronger glasses?

<u>Såt</u> eð trair småfugler upi ien eppeltrai?
Were there three small birds (lit. 'sitting') on an apple tree?

12.2.3 The W-question clause

The W-question main clause type entails the use of a question word in the topic position. Besides the fact that the topic position contains an element, as opposed to the yes/no question type, its structure is similar to that of the yes/no question type (see Table 12.1, e.).

In these examples, the question word is underlined:

<u>Ukað</u> ir du trä'tt?
QUEST.ADV Are you tired?

<u>Wert</u> ulið nų og wen ulið dar?
Where are you (heading) now and what are you (going to do) there?

<u>Weðå</u> kumb du, lislkall?
Where are you (lit. 'coming') from, little man?

<u>Ukin</u> brukeð war gęslkall i launggbuðum?
Who used to be the shepherd in the remote summer pastures?

<u>Wiso</u> will du jåp mig?
Why do you want to help me?

12.2.4 The command clause

The command main clause type has an empty topic position, an empty nominal 1 position and moreover the imperative form of the verb in the finite verb position (see Table 12.1, f.).

In these examples, the verb in the imperative form is underlined:

<u>Fuork</u> it mig.
Don't urge.1SG me (to do something).

<u>Goið</u> it so nakuger.
Don't walk.2PL around so lightly dressed (lit. 'so naked').

<u>Gokk</u> upå diskbaintjin, so al du få sjå nöð ruolit.
Get.1SG (lit. 'go') up on the draining board, then you will see something funny.

<u>Sta'nnið</u> um nåt.
Stay.2PL for the night.

<u>Taiið</u>, so fåmm wail ärum liteð.
Be.2PL quiet, so we can rest our ears for a bit.

<u>Wari</u> it so lieð!
Don't be.2SG so mean!

Note that Elfdalian has an additional imperative structure expressing a milder command, which corresponds to a declarative clause type with the auxiliary verb *ula*, for example, *du al twå dig um nevå* 'please wash.1SG your hands', *ulið kweðå* 'please sing.2PL' (see Section 7.2.8.1).

12.3 The subordinate clause

The position scheme for the subordinate clause differs from that of the main clause (see Section 12.2 and Table 12.1) in two aspects:

1) Differently from the position scheme of the main clause, the subordinate clause contains the subordinating conjunction in the topic position, as shown in Table 12.2.[3]
2) Differently from the *finite verb–adverbial 1–nominal 1* order of the position scheme for the main clause, the scheme for the subordinate clause has the following two types of word order: *nominal 1–finite verb–adverbial 2* and *adverbial 1–nominal 1–finite verb* (see Table 12.2).

The two types of the subordinate clause have identical functions to those of the main clause, but merely a different word order. The type shown in Table 12.2, a. follows the word order of the main clause from the nominal 1 position and forward, that is, *nominal 1–finite verb–adverbial 2*. The

[3] However, the use of *at* is optional in clauses of type a. in Table 12.2.

type shown in Table 12.2, b., on the other hand, follows the order (from *adverbial 1* onwards) *adverbial 1–nominal 1–finite verb*. Hence, when a subordinate clause lacks adverbial 1 and 2, clauses of type a. and b. merge into one single type.

The subordinating conjunction appears to determine the word order of the subordinate clause, as certain subordinating conjunctions appear to coincide more frequently with one type than the other, as accounted for further in this chapter.

The two types of subordinate clause structures shown in Table 12.2 are further accounted for in Sections 12.3.2 and 12.3.3.

Free translations of the example sentences in Table 12.2 are as follows. In order to include the subordinate clauses in sentences, the words *an saggd* 'he said' are added at the beginning:

a) *An saggd (at) rattjin ar it ietið tjyöteð idag* 'He said that the dog hasn't eaten any meat today.'[4]
b) *An saggd at int rattjin ar ietið tjyöteð idag* 'He said that the dog hasn't eaten any meat today.'

12.3.1 Type a.-b. (lacking adverbial 1 and 2)

Types a. and b. of the subordinate clause merge into one category if adverb 1 and adverb 2 are lacking.

In these examples, the subordinate clauses are underlined:

Ig undres å <u>når dier landeð dar</u>.
I am wondering when they landed there.

Kattundjin må'tt fel grą'll tappas <u>ses an add ietið strömindjin</u>. Lärum fel få sjå <u>um an kumb fram</u>.
The kitten has evidently disappeared completely since it ate some herring. (I guess) we will see if it shows up.

Ig wet it <u>ukað eð ir i stugun nu</u>.
I don't know what it's like in the cottage now.

<u>Mes ig kam upi Övdaln</u> dugd ig it få i <u>wen fuotjeð saggde</u>.
When I came to Övdaln, I couldn't understand what people said.

[4] The subordinate conjugation *at* 'that' is optional here.

Table 12.2 Position scheme for the subordinate clause

	Topic	Adverbial 1	Nominal 1	Finite verb	Adverbial 2	Non-finite verb	Nominal 2	Adverbial 3
a.	**(at)** (that)	–	**rattjin** dog-the	**ar** has	**it** not	**ietið** eaten	**tjyöteð** meat-the	**idag** today
b.	**at** that	**int** not	**rattjin** dog-the	**ar** has	–	**ietið** eaten	**tjyöteð** meat-the	**idag** today

12.3.2 Type a. (including adverbial 2)

This type of subordinate clause (potential *topic* + *nominal 1* subordinate clause) follows the position scheme of the main clause from the nominal position 1 and to the columns right of it. It differs from type b. of the subordinate clause in that it lacks an adverbial 1 but contains an adverbial 2 (see also Section 12.3.3). This clause type also goes by the name *V-to-I-movement*.

In these examples, the subordinate clauses are underlined:

Ig saggd åm <u>at an ulld dą̊ fer all diel int tag yr diem so war filfrier</u>.
I told him that he should by no means remove those who were faultless (*dą̊* affirms the proposition).

Brindn kå'ytt etter weem <u>tast ig såg it an</u>.
The moose ran back along the road until I couldn't see him.

Ą̊ undres ą̊ <u>wiso an ar it kumið</u>.
She is wondering why he hasn't arrived.

12.3.3 Type b. (including adverbial 1)

This type of subordinate clause (*topic* + *adverbial 2* subordinate clause) differs from the first type in that it contains an adverbial 1 but lacks an adverbial 2 (see also Section 12.3.2). Adverbial 1 in this type of subordinate clause appears to consist exclusively of the negation *int*.

When containing the conjunction *at*, this type of subclause appears to be common as the subject of the main clause (see the first example below).

In these examples, the subordinate clauses are underlined:

Ið war underlit <u>at int noger röv nytteð jät upp ið-dar krytyreð</u>.
It was strange that no fox cared to eat up that animal.

<u>Um int ið werd våtweðreð</u> al ig umstað fesyötj finn nogų ber.
If it doesn't start to rain (lit. 'if it doesn't become wet weather'), I will set off to try to find some berries.

Akt dig <u>so int Loðn kumb og tar dig</u>.
Beware, so the Hairy One (i.e. 'the bear') won't come after you.

An fą̊r stjikk atter ið <u>int an will åvå</u>.
One may send back what one does not want to have (lit. 'that not one want to have').

Finggum stell etter masjäkksböą dar ini stugun, so int mjokputellär ulld työlå sund.
We had to put the packed meals away there in the cottage so the milk bottles would not burst (due to the frost).

Um int eð kumb noð millą al ig els ą dig i kweld.
If nothing comes up, I will visit you tonight.

Eð sir aut so underlit, um int saiðą ir fullskrievað.
It looks so strange if the page is not fully written (on).

For subordinate clauses with implicit *at* 'that' and *so* 'so', see Section 12.3.4.

12.3.4 Omission of *at* and *so*

Subordinate clauses beginning with the explicit or implicit subordinating equivalent of the conjunction 'that' (Elfd. *at*) frequently occur without the subordinating conjunction (cf. Engl. 'She said she is hungry'). A subordinate clause lacking *at* follows the word order shown in Table 12.2, a., which is identical to the declarative type of the main clause order, that is, [*An saggd*] *rattjin ar it ietið tjyöteð idag* '[He said] (that) the dog has not any meat today' (see also Sections 12.2.1 and 12.3.2). If the word order is as in Table 12.2, b., *at* is obligatory.

The relative pronoun *so* 'who, which' is frequently omitted when *so* is the object of the subordinate clause, for example, [*Wen ulum wįð djärå iss-järstjyörų*] *amme?* '[What shall we do during this period of time] (that) we have?'.

In these examples, the subordinate clauses are underlined:

Ig ugst ig edd að wilað fą war įesum.
I thought (that) I would have wanted to be alone.

Du wet norskär edd it að wilað djävå sig.
You know (that) the Norwegians would not have wanted to surrender.

Eð war under dier ulld it slepp los åm.
It was a miracle that they would not release him.

Ig såg an kam.
I saw him coming (lit. 'I saw he came').

Ig saggd að enner ą fikk ligg triųo dågå ses ą wart feberfri.
I told her (that) she had to stay in bed for three days after she became free from fever.

Ið war noð <u>ig stypples yvyr</u>.
There was something (that/which) I stumbled upon.

Avið noð taktigel <u>ig får tjyöpa</u>?
Do you have any roofing tiles (that/which) I could buy?

12.3.5 Stylistic fronting

Stylistic fronting implies the movement of an element from nominal 2 position to nominal 1 position. In Elfdalian, its use is frequent in temporal subordinate clauses, for example, *dar såmårn war* 'in summertime (lit. 'when summer was')'. A less frequent use is in short relative subordinate clauses in the end of the sentence, for example, [*ig gor*] *dait nemmest ir* 'I will go to the closest place (lit. 'I go there closest is')' and *dier so ogų og neveð åvå* 'those who have eyes and a nose (lit. 'who eyes and nose have', i.e. human beings)'.

Erin ir wait i ferg <u>dar wittern ir</u>.
The hare has a white colour when it is winter (lit. 'when winter is').

Bellum wįð sę-nt ev åv eð, <u>dar Uoldbuor ir</u>, og sjå aut sos mįer fuok nog stjyör <u>mę såmårn ir</u>?
Can't we remove it (referring to full beard) during the Valborg festivities (lit. 'when Valborg is') and look like other people for some time during the summer (lit. 'when summer is')?

Dier djärå so, dier <u>so gamblest irå</u>.
They do it this way, the ones who are the oldest.

Gerd-Marit add ien stugu <u>dar so fastskauln ir</u>.
Gerd-Marit had a cottage where (lit. 'there which') the permanent school is.

12.4 Further clause and word order patterns

The clause types presented in Sections 12.2 and 12.3 represent a general view of the main Elfdalian clause types. Elfdalian has more sub-types of these main types which partially correspond to English and Swedish clause types, which are not included in this description.

In this section, some further topics in the context of word order and sentence structures which are more typical for Elfdalian are accounted for.

12.4.1 Further clause types

12.4.1.1 Nominal 2/adverbial 3 preceding the non-finite verb

In this clause type, which is a remnant of an object–verb clause type, nominal 2 or adverbial 3 precedes the non-finite verb. This clause type might occur in main and subordinate clauses alike. Its frequency is rather low.

> **Add dier int ånum stjou'ssað?**
> Hadn't they given him a lift (lit. 'him gave-a-lift')?
>
> **Naug beller an fel dar bendas.**
> He can certainly be wilful there (lit. 'there be wilful').
>
> **Itjä al an so liuo'tt fårå.**
> One should not behave so badly.
>
> **Ukin ar so tjyöpt?**
> Who has bought anything like this (lit. 'Who has so bought')?
>
> **An syöks it wåra åv matim mett.**[5]
> He doesn't appear to be full of the food (lit. 'of the food full').
>
> **Itler edd fel að ö'tt åv en eð kwer war og.**
> Hitler would have destroyed what was left of it (i.e. Norway) as well (lit. 'Hitler would have destroyed of it that left was also').

12.4.1.2 Clauses with two head verbs

This clause type contains an explicit or implicit movement verb, the conjunction *og* here meaning 'to, in order to', followed by a head verb in the same clause, for example, *ig gor og legg mig* 'I am going to bed (lit. 'I am going and laying myself down')', *ulum aut og fistja* 'we are going out fishing (lit. 'we will out and fish')' (see also Section 7.2.2.2).

12.4.1.3 Conditional sentences without 'if'

As in English, conditional sentences can be expressed without the conjunction *um* 'if', but by placing the subordinate clause before the non-subordinate one. In the following example, the subordinate clause is underlined.

> **Wär ig i Ossa, edd ig bellt els å Gun.**
> Had I been to Orsa, I would have been able to visit Gun.

[5] In this sentence, adverbial 3 precedes nominal 2 (the subject predicate).

12.4.1.4 Cleft sentence

As in English, cleft sentences also occur in Elfdalian. Note that if a pronoun is the subject of the main clause, it retains its nominative form:

> **Ð war an å kolld fer 'wastjin'.**
> It was him she used to call 'the weakling'.
>
> **Ð war då å fikk sjå ien liuotmagran katt.**
> It was then she caught a sight of a very lean cat.

12.4.2 Further topics concerning clause structure and word order

This sub-section includes less frequent word order and syntax patterns.

12.4.2.1 Negation adverbs – position and frequency

Elfdalian has two negation adverbs equivalent to English 'not': *inte* and *itjä*. Moreover, *inte* has two apocopated variants, *int* and *it*, with slightly different functions, which are noted here (see also Section 8.2.1).

1) *Inte* and *it*

Inte[6] (and its apocopated form *int*) and *it* are the most common negation adverbs. The main distinction in the use of *int(e)* and *it* is that the former is used *left* of the subject–finite verb and the latter *right* of it, for example, *um int ig kumb idag* and *um ig kumb it idag*, both meaning 'if I won't come today'. However, *int/e* is used right of the subject–finite verb either regionally (hence, the form *it* is never used in this part of Övdaln) or when emphasising the negation, for example, *um ig kumb int idag* 'if I won't come today'. See also Table 12.2, a. and b.

The frequency of the structures pre-subject–verb *it* and post-subject–verb *it* (or possibly *int*) in clauses containing a conjunction appear to vary according to the conjunction: *so* 'so that' (subordinating conjunction) and *um* 'if' (subordinating conjunction) appear to take the former structure more frequently, whereas *at* 'that' and *men* 'but' appear to take the latter structure more frequently. *That*-clauses lacking the word *at* take the former structure. The conjunctions *då* 'as (denoting a cause)' and *og* 'and' appear to accommodate both structures. *Int(e)* as a clause adverb appears to be less frequent at the beginning of a sentence.

[6] Note that *inte* also has the regional variants *itte* or *itt*.

2) *Itjä*

Itjä occurs in two situations:[7] 1) clause-initially with no further negation within the clause, or with an additional *itjä* in an extra position after the clause; for example, *Itjä truor ig dyö* 'I certainly do not think so' (lit. 'Not think I it') and *Itjä ir an stur, itjä* 'He is not big'; and 2) in an extraposition (that is, after the clause), *itjä* occurs with any other negation within the clause, for example, *Itjä ir an stur, itjä* 'He is not big' and *An-dar rattjin it stur, an itjä* 'That dog is not big' (lit. 'That dog is not big, he not'). See also Table 12.3.

Semantically, *itjä* appears to emphasise the whole proposition when occurring clause-initially, for example, *Itjä truor ig dyö* 'I certainly do not think so'. In questions, an initial *itjä* can make the proposition milder, for example, *Itjä edd du bellt djärå eð?* 'Couldn't you do it?'

Both *int* and *itjä* are used before non-verbal elements to negate them, for example, *Ig såg bar fuost kullų og int oðrų og triðų* 'I only saw the first girl and not the second and the third one', *Itjä nų!* 'Not now!'. In such cases, *itjä* can only appear at the beginning of the sentence.

Free translations of the example sentences in Table 12.3 are as follows:

a) *Rattjin ar it/int ietið tjöyteð idag* 'The dog hasn't eaten meat today'.[8]
b) *Rattjin ar it/int ietið tjöyteð idag itjä* 'The dog hasn't eaten meat today'.[9]
c) *Itjä ar rattjin ietið tjöyteð idag itjä* 'The dog has indeed not eaten meat today'.

In the following examples, the negated clauses or clause elements are underlined:

> **Naug war eð launggsamt milumað og <u>int war å so pigg laingger eld</u>.**
> It was certainly boring sometimes, and she was not so spirited either any more.
>
> **Og <u>int add ig wilað lär mig stiälå</u>.**
> And I did not want to learn how to steal.
>
> **<u>Ig såg it an werru</u>.**
> I didn't see him anywhere.

[7] Note that *itjä* also has the variants *itje* and the rather infrequent *itj*.
[8] *Int* is used either emphatically or as a regional variant.
[9] *Int* is used either emphatically or as a regional variant.

Table 12.3 Negation in the declarative main clause with straight word order (Type 1)

	Topic	**Finite verb**	**Adverbial 1**	**Nominal 1**	**Adverbial 2**	**Non-finite verb**	**Nominal 2**	**Adverbial 3/ Extraposition**
a.	**Rattjin** Dog-the	**ar** has		<=	**it (int)** not	**ietið** eaten	**tjyöteð** meat-the	**idag** today
b.	**Rattjin** Dog-the	**ar** has		<=	**int** not	**ietið** eaten	**tjyöteð** meat-the	**idag itjä** today not
c.	**Itjä** Not	**ar** has		**rattjin** dog-the		**ietið** eaten	**tjyöteð** meat-the	**idag itjä** today not

Eð ir it warend aut nų.
It is not possible to be outside now.

Ą add draið för gardinę so int kattn ulld bell sją ån.
She pulled the curtains so that the cat would not be able to see her (subordinate clause).

Ig al umstað og sją um int ig dug djärå eð.
I will set off to check whether I cannot do it (meaning whether I could do it).

An dugd mjäst int kum undą buovum.
He could hardly (lit. 'almost not') escape the villains.

Int ien tråð eld įe kniep kumb autyr gambel Tjittstugun.
Not a thread or a button comes out of the old Tjitt house.

Ir eð du so ar spillt sapt? Näj, itjä ig itjä.
Are you the one who spilled some juice? No, not me.

Itjä tuost ig sai noð að slaikam ärram.
I did certainly not dare say anything to such a gentleman.

Itjä edd du apt ien sokkerbit að mig?
Could it be the case that you might have a piece of sugar for me (lit. 'Not had.SUBJ you had a sugar-bite for me')?

Itjä fätäs eð mig noð.
There certainly is nothing wrong with me (lit. 'not is missing it (to) me anything').

Itjä amm wįð frusið dar itjä.
We were certainly not cold there (lit. 'not did we freeze there not').

Ą ulld ell i liteð rienwattn, itjä ollt so war i byttun.
She was going to pour some fresh water into it, not all that was in the box.

12.4.2.2 Negative concord

Elfdalian has a non-strict negative concord, implying that two or more negations are possible in the clause without changing the negation into affirmation, but nonetheless that multiple negation is not obligatory in the clause. This entails the use of the negation adverbial *inte* (apocopated form *int*) or *it* with possible additional negation adverbials or pronouns, for example, *Ig fuor older að Amierik* 'I have never been to America (lit. 'I went never to America')' or *Ig fuor it að Amierik older* 'I have never gone

to America (lit. 'I went not to America never')', as well as *Ð kam indjin* 'Nobody came (lit. 'It came nobody')'.

The position of *int/it* is before other negative constituents in the clause. However, with the word *knappt* 'hardly', *int/it* usually appears directly after the negative adverb.

Amm <u>it</u> apt <u>inggan</u> båråå wįð <u>itjä</u>.
We have never had a *bari* ('troll cat') (lit. 'We have not never had no *bari*, we not').

Ð lär nų <u>it</u> war <u>inggų</u> livendes råð.
There seems to be no way out (lit. 'There seems now not to be no way out').

Sturär bigrip <u>it</u> <u>older</u> noð åv sig siuovum.
The adults never understand anything (lit. 'not never something') by themselves.

Snąrt ärdes <u>knappt</u> <u>int</u> filur.
Soon no fiddles were to be heard (lit. 'Soon hardly no fiddles were heard').

12.4.2.3 Lack of object shift

As opposed to English, Elfdalian usually lacks the object shift, that is, the object or reflexive pronoun occurs after the adverbial or particle in the clause, just as objects consisting of other nominal phrases, for example, *Ig sir it dig* 'I don't see you (lit. 'I see not you')',[10] *Ig rai'tt upp mig* 'I rose up (lit. 'I raised up myself')'. With the verb *lata* 'let', other noun phrases also come at the end of the phrase.

Ig slepper <u>it dig</u> so snąrt nų, mą du truo!
I certainly won't let you go (lit. 'I release not you') so quickly (now), you know (or you bet).

Brindn kå'ytt atter weem tast ig såg <u>it an</u>.
The moose ran back along the road until I didn't see him (lit. 'saw not him').

Fuork <u>it mig</u>.
Don't urge me.

[10] In Swedish and Old English, the word order would be 'I see not you'.

Ig rai'tt <u>upp mig</u> og djikk au'tter að dörum.
I rose up (lit. 'I raised up myself') and went to the south (or down the stream) to the door.

An låg upi syðersaindjin og tuog <u>att sig</u>.
He was lying in the bed facing to the south and was resting (lit. 'took back himself') (reflexive).

Ig dugd it lat <u>wåå diem</u>.
I couldn't let them be.

Pär willd it <u>lat sjå ener gamtpapirę</u>.
Pär didn't want to show her (lit. 'let see her.DAT') the old papers.

Ig al <u>lat slukken jäldn</u>.
I will let the fire go out.

Mụor <u>bryr int sig</u> um djärå nån tårtu.[11]
My wife (lit. 'mother') doesn't care for making a cake (reflexive).

<u>lat witå nogum noð</u>
let someone know something (lit. 'let know someone.DAT something')

12.4.2.4 Subject multiplication

The subject may be duplicated (so-called double subject) or even triplicated, thus emphasising the proposition.

The primary subject may be a pronoun or a noun. If it is a pronoun, it is merely 'copied', for example, *An ir it stur an* 'He is not big (lit. 'he').' If it is a noun, it is usually rendered by a pronoun, that is, *Arvið itter sakt an bra i Stokkol* 'Arvið certainly gets around well in Stockholm'. Usually, the primary subject appears first and the secondary one later in the clause. However, the opposite is also attested, as in *An fikk fel Swen råða, so gamblest war* 'Swen, who was the oldest one, decided'.

Clauses with subject multiplication often contain the clause adverbs *fel* or *sakta* or the modal verb *lär* as additional means of emphasising the proposition.

The positions of the multiple subjects may be in the topic position and after the finite verb, either directly after the finite verb, as in *Ig paindes ig sakta* 'I was certainly suffering myself' or after the finite verb and adverbial 2, as in *Ą̊ wet sakt ą̊ eð* 'She certainly knows it (lit. 'she')'. When triplicated, the multiple subject appears, besides in the topic position, twice after the finite verb or once before adverbial 2 and once after adverbial 2.

[11] *Sig* is the reflexive object pronoun, making part of the verb *bry sig* 'care'.

Eð mą dąfel eð wårå so.
It probably is this way.

An lär int an war liðun pass upp mųor so kringgt.
He doesn't seem to have time to take care of his wife that often.

An lär-n an wårå dar jagmįestern ir.
He is most probably where the forest officer is.

An lär-n inte an kunn eller eld ig.
He certainly doesn't seem to know it better than I.

Ig ar ig sakt ig mįer i grytun.
I certainly have more in the pot.

Ig paindes ig sakt og fikk dait an tä slut, ųotä'n.
I was certainly toiling and managed to place it there, the rascal (referring to a heavy stone).

Kupärslägern willd fą sig nån åvan an og, milumað.
The coppersmith (absolutely) wanted a half for himself too, sometimes.

Dier irå sakt dier trivliger, boð kalln og kelindję.
They are certainly nice, both the husband and his (lit. 'the') wife.

An saggd nųfel an at ą lärd sakt ą finnas.
He certainly said that she existed (or most probably existed).

12.4.2.5 Extraposition

The subject of the clause as well as the negation may be repeated in a final extraposition after the clause.

An ir it stur an itjä.
He is certainly not big.

Smålåuopin fygd fel ą, dier og.
The group of small cattle came along (lit. 'they') too.

Dier irå sakt dier trivliger, boð kalln og kelindję.
They are certainly nice, both the husband and his (lit. 'the') wife.

12.4.2.6 Referential null subjects

First person plural is omitted in straight word order, but not in reverse word order, whereas the second person plural is omitted in both positions (see also Sections 7.3.5 and 12.1).

12.4.2.7 Non-referential null subjects

Non-referential null subjects occur in impersonal structures with the present participle, as well as in some fixed idioms. However, their use is rather infrequent.

> **Uoss ir saiend og it fyörend.**
> We are to keep it between us (lit. 'It is for us to say but not to carry (forward)').
>
> **syöks saia**
> so to say (fixed idiom) (lit. 'it appears to say')

12.4.2.8 Possessive pronouns as pre- or post-modifiers

In unmarked constructions, the possessive pronouns take a post-nominal position in the clause, for example, *auseð mett* 'my house', *kattn ţor* 'our cat', *pennskrineð kullun* 'the girl's.DAT pencil box'. A pre-nominal position of the possessive pronouns serves as an emphasis, for example, *Ittað ir mett aus* 'This is my (and nobody else's) house', *Ittad ir kullunes.*DAT + *-es. pennskrin* 'the girl's pencil' (see also Sections 3.1.3.7 and 5.5).

12.4.2.9 Accusative with infinitive

As opposed to English usage, Elfdalian does not apply the accusative with infinitive structure as in 'I heard her sing' or 'singing'. This is covered in Section 7.2.2.3.2.

12.4.2.10 Reduplication

Reduplication or multiplication of clause elements appears to occur in different word classes and contexts in Elfdalian and to render emphasis (see also Section 8.1.10):

- Adjectives
  gambel-gambel 'very old'
  stur-stur-(*stur-*) 'very big'
- Adverbs
  nað-nað 'very much'
  older-older 'absolutely never'
  olle-ollesta'ss 'absolutely everywhere'
  ollt-olltiett 'absolutely always'
- Negation adverbs:
  Amm it older si'tt ån itjä 'We have never seen her' (lit. 'We have not never seen her, not.'). See also Section 12.4.2.2.

Og wegen gor dar, gambel-gambelwegen.
And the road goes there, the extremely old road.

An add weð upp iel nåtę og ulað åvå stur-stur-sturjälldn.
He was up all night and was going to make an extremely big fire.

Oðer da'n fikk ig elsningger at eð war fa'llit, fa'llit, feskrettjeli fa'llit far dar å djiptę main.
On the next day I was notified (lit. 'I got greetings') that it was terribly dangerous to go to my parcel (i.e. piece of land).

13
Lexicon, word formation and names

The current chapter accounts for the Elfdalian lexicon and word formation, as well as personal and place names.

13.1 Lexicon and word formation

The current description of the Elfdalian lexicon and word formation is based on three aspects:

1) The origin or etymology of the word a word is either *ex interno*, that is, based on the pre-existent native lexicon (comprising the traditional lexicon and new words based on it), *ex externo*, that is, based on the non-native lexicon, or *ex sono*, that is, based on sound or sound association.[1] Different combinations of these sources are also possible.
2) The morphological structure of the word, which is most frequently simplex, derivative or compound.
3) The semantics of the word: an old form may acquire a new content or a new form may be coined with a new content.

[1] For explanation of the terminology, see Sapir and Zuckermann (2008). The time limit for what is considered *ex externo* in this book is lexical material from non-native sources that entered Elfdalian after about 1850, when the Elfdalian lexicon is considered to still have been stable, with relatively minor interference *ex externo*.

13.1.1 Root and stem

A root is a word component from which affixes have been removed; for example, *wit-* 'to know; intelligence; sense; reason'. A stem is a word component including word formation affixes, for example, *wit* (a zero derivation from the root *wit-*, thus resulting in a *simplex*) 'intelligence; sense; reason', *witun* (< *wit-un*, with the adjective suffix *-un*, resulting in a *derivation*) 'knowledgeable; wise, sensible' and *ţowit* (< *ţo-wit*, with the negational prefix *ţo-*, resulting in a derivation) 'scolding'. A stem may also consist of two roots, for example, *ausold* (n.) 'family with children' (from the roots *aus-* 'house' and *old-* 'hold', thus resulting in a *compound*). The basic form of the word can moreover include an inflectional suffix, for example, *witå* 'to know' (*wit-å*, where *wit-* is the root and the suffix *-å* indicates the infinitive) or *sjäppa* 'female dog' (*sjäpp-a*, where *sjäpp-* is the root and the suffix *-a* indicates the feminine nominative singular).

Elfdalian root morphemes have most frequently been monosyllabic and stressed, as in *wit-* 'to know; knowledge, sense, reason'. Rather few native Elfdalian roots are disyllabic, as *imil* 'sky' and *työður* 'western capercaillie', as well as roots which acquired an additional syllable owing to phonological development, such as **agre* > *ager* 'oats'. With the influence of foreign languages, more polysyllabic roots emerged in Elfdalian, such as *elefant* 'elephant', a trisyllabic root borrowed as 'one piece' and with stress on the last syllable. Some affixes may have a secondary stress, for example, *-nað*, as in *stjilnað* (< *stjil-* 'distinguish; separate' + *-nað* abstract noun affix) 'difference'. Compounds may likewise consist of two stressed morphemes, for example, *Öv(daln)* 'Övdaln' + *kall* man > *övkall* 'a man from Övdaln'.

13.1.2 Overview of Elfdalian word formation types

In Table 13.1, the main morpho-etymological types of the Elfdalian lexicon and word formation are provided. Roots are marked in bold and word formation morpheme borders are marked with hyphens (e.g. *ţo-**börg*** 'disobedient'); inflectional suffixes are not separated by hyphens (e.g. ***wik**å* 'week). Some of the words in Table 13.1 are accounted for in the following sections.

13.1.3 Lexicon and word formation by origin

The origin or etymology of words is most commonly *ex interno*, *ex externo* or, less frequently, *ex sono*.

Table 13.1 Morpho-etymological word formation types in Elfdalian

	Simplices	**Derivatives**	**Compounds**
Nouns	*Ex interno* ***dag*** 'day' ***wik****å* 'week' ***järta*** 'heart'	*Ex interno* *åv-**stutt**-ningg* 'shortening; abbreviation' ***mål****-ningg* 'painting' ***ti****-ningg* 'newspaper'	*Ex interno* ***skal-aus*** 'toilet' ***brind-tjyr*** 'moose cow' ***dags-liuos*** 'daylight' ***målað-kall*** 'picture; figure, illustration'
	Ex externo ***tilifuon*** 'telephone' ***restaurangg*** 'restaurant' ***musikant*** 'musician'	*Ex externo* *bi-**tal**-ningg* 'payment' *aut-**man**-ingg* 'challenge' ***bag****-er* 'baker'	*Ex externo* ***klass-kompis*** 'classmate' ***swenn-sjäksa*** 'stag party'
Adjectives, past participles	*Ex interno* ***grann*** 'beautiful', ***äv*** 'distinguished; popular' ***stur*** 'big'	*Ex interno* ***dag****-lin* 'daily' *aut-**ferin*** 'weary, exhausted' *ǫ-**börg*** 'disorderly; disobedient'	*Ex interno* *uv-**straid*** 'too quickly; very quick'
	Ex externo ***intressant*** 'interesting'	*Ex externo* ***dukt****-in* 'substantial' ***äventyr****-lin* 'adventurous'	*Ex externo* –
Adverbs	***bara*** 'only' ***og*** 'also' ***dåǫ*** 'then'	***grann****-t* 'beautifully' ***summu****-lund* 'in the same way' *oll-**sta**'ss* 'in every place; in all places'	***enn-dåǫ*** 'even', ***dåǫ-fel*** 'anyhow'
	Ex externo ***aldri*** 'never'	*Ex externo* ***dukt****-it* 'abundantly'	–
Verbs	*Ex interno* ***truo*** 'believe' ***byddj-a*** 'dwell; build'	*Ex interno* ***tep*** *upp* 'open' ***är*** *å* 'listen'	*Ex interno* ***bu-fyör*** 'move to or from the summer pasture' ***gamt-glåmå*** 'speak in the old fashion'
	Ex externo ***bað****-a* 'bathe' ***jag****-a* 'hunt'	*Ex externo* *yvyr-**sett*** 'translate' *upp-**dat**ir* 'update' *ri-**wital**-isir* 'revitalise'	*Ex externo* –

13.1.3.1 Ex interno

The *ex interno* Elfdalian lexicon contains relatively few words which are unique to Elfdalian, such as *brinde* 'moose'. Many words coincide with other Upper Dalecarlian vernaculars, for example, *kripp* 'child', *kulla* 'girl, unmarried woman', *muna* 'mother', and with other North Scandinavian vernaculars. Elfdalian sometimes uses words whose forms are common with West rather than East Scandinavian, for example, *lekk* 'link' (Swe. *länk*) and *buð* 'booth; shed' (Swe. *bod*). A great number of words show more similarities with their Swedish cognates, for example, *lemmen* 'to leave' (Swe. *lämna*) or *ur* 'how' (Swe. *hur*). At times, Elfdalian uses a word that is less common or is used in a different meaning in Swedish, for example, *rakke* 'dog' (*racka* occurs in the Swedish compound *byracka* 'mongrel; cur', lit. 'village dog') and *nevi* 'hand' (Swe. *hand,* whereas *näve* means 'fist'). Elfdalian has preserved many Old Norse words that were lost in Swedish, for example, *nev* 'nose' (Swe. *näsa* < MLG *nese*) and *stutt* 'short' (Swe. *kort* < MLG *kort*). Evidently, Elfdalian shares a great deal of words with many other Scandinavian and Germanic varieties, for example, *aus* 'house' and *buok* 'book'. Traditional Elfdalian (and simultaneously North Germanic/common Germanic) word formation mechanisms were reportedly still productive in spontaneous word formation at the beginning of the twentieth century in Övdaln, resulting in, for example, *migi* 'penis' (< *maiga* 'urinate' with an ablaut and the masculine inflectional suffix *-i*) and *rwaiðul* 'steering wheel' (< *rwaiða* 'turn' + the traditional agent suffix *-ul*). Native coinages and puristic coinages have been ongoing up to our times, although usually through compounding, meaning shifts and derivation with younger affixes, such as *-er*.

Some of the attested *ex interno* Elfdalian neologisms, such as *bögelbutt* 'television' (lit. 'staring box') and *djärulosgerd* 'golf course' (lit. 'idle field') have a jocular character, but the boundaries between these and more 'serious' neologisms are not always clear-cut. The tendency to form words on puristic grounds has been boosted by the Elfdalian language revitalisation since the 1980s, when many words were necessary for writing or translating literature, as well as to express modern phenomena, for example, *landlär* 'geography (< *land* 'land' + *lära* 'learning') and *Kråy'ssbuotję* for 'Facebook' (lit. 'the face book').

13.1.3.2 Ex externo

The Elfdalian *ex externo* lexicon is most commonly based on Swedish, some of which is, in turn, ultimately based on other sources (most commonly on MLG, but likewise on French and English as well as (neo)classical word formation sources). In general, Elfdalian appears to

have preserved more native roots than Swedish, such as Elfd. *spyra*, Swe. *fråga* 'ask' and Elfd. *stutt*, Swe. *kort* 'short'. *Ex externo* lexical material is usually nativised into Elfdalian in terms of phonology, morphology and phonotactics. A few *ex externo* words, such as *teve* 'TV' and *krig* 'war', are indeclinable, but a few *ex interno* Elfdalian words are likewise indeclinable. As Swedish and Elfdalian are related languages, Swedish words can easily be nativised into Elfdalian and used by native speakers unaware of their origin (see also Section 1.1).

As mentioned earlier, Swedish-mediated MLG words appear to be the main source of *ex externo* word formation in Elfdalian. There used to be a strong linguistic influence on Swedish from MLG migrants and tradesmen because of the Hanseatic League and a labour force that was drawn from northern Germany, mainly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Whereas the Hanseatic League had a major influence on its member cities, in Sweden, to begin with, workers from northern Germany, as well as from different parts of Sweden, settled down wherever they were needed, such as close to the Falu copper mine in Falun, around 150 kilometres south-west of Övdaln, thus causing a dialectal levelling in that area. Interestingly, this levelling appears to have had only a minor effect on the Upper Siljan vernaculars, including Elfdalian, until the end of the nineteenth century.

Most prefixed words in Elfdalian and in Swedish are *ex externo*, or partially *ex externo*, as most of them ultimately originate from MLG, for example, *feklara* 'explain' (< Swe. *förklara*, < MLG *vorklaren*). The Elfdalian prefixes *sam-, samman-* had not existed traditionally in Elfdalian and was only later borrowed from Swedish, for example, *samband* 'connection' (< Swe. *samband*). Many suffixed words in Elfdalian are likewise *ex externo* or partially *ex externo*, for example, *riktug* 'correct' (< Swe. *riktig* < MLG *richtich*).

13.1.3.3 Ex sono

Ex sono lexical material is based either on sound or sound association (i.e. conveying feelings or attitudes through sounds or imitating babies). Examples of the former are *twiså* 'to whisper' and *gnikå* 'to creak' (about sound). Examples of the latter are *pupu* 'gee-gee' and *tjytjy* 'bow-wow'.

13.1.3.4 Combined etymology

Ex interno and *ex externo* lexical material may also be combined with each other when it comes to origin/etymology, morphological structure and semantics. One such combined word formation is *calquing*, by which an *ex externo* content is translated literally with the help of an *ex interno*

form, for example, *buokslepp* 'book release' (< *buok* 'book' + *slepp* 'release'), calqued on Swedish *boksläpp* or *bokrelease* (in turn, calqued on English 'book release') with the same meaning. Combined formations may also appear at the formal level, when a word consists of partially *ex externo* and partially *ex interno* elements, for example, *buoråmasin* from *ex interno buor* 'drill' + *ex externo masin* 'machine'.

Owing to the immense influence of Swedish on Elfdalian since the beginning of the twentieth century, the linguistic affinity between the two languages and the weakened status of Elfdalian, the influx of Swedish words into Elfdalian could take place without major hindrance to easily become nativised in the Elfdalian language system. Owing to the rather extensive description and documentation of LCE, it is often possible to determine whether a word is native Elfdalian as a result of a later *ex externo* formation on Swedish. With the help of phonological information, it can thus be concluded that the words *bröð* 'bread' and *olme* 'small island' are based on Swedish and that the equivalent attested words *brod* and *uome* are native Elfdalian. The word *tuorsk* with the meaning 'cod-fish' is obviously a borrowing from Swedish, as cod-fish is not native to that region and the word *tuosk* also has the meaning 'frog', which is probably old and native Elfdalian.

13.1.3.5 Nativisation

Many *ex externo* words are nativised, that is, are partially or wholly adapted to the Elfdalian language system both phonetically and morphologically, for example, *tilifuon* 'telephone' (< Swe. *telefon*),[2] *stjäf* 'boss' (< Swe. *chef*), *istor* (*istorą*.DEF) 'story; history' (< Swe. *historia*), *studir* 'study' (< Swe. *studera*). The phonetic adaptation often follows a regular pattern; for example, Swe. /ʃ/ is usually rendered by Elfd. /st͡ɕ/.

The diphthongisation of long /i/, /u/ and /y/ in *ex externo* words appears to still have been productive in Old UpSD in the thirteenth century, as Latin-based words and names which began to enter the language upon the introduction of Christianity in the region around that time were diphthongised, for example, Elfd. *Katrąi* 'Catherine' (< Lat. *Catharina*) and *kraungen* 'crown' (< Lat. *corona*). After that period, long /i/, /u/ and /y/ remained undiphthongised, for example, Elfd. *tið* 'time' (< Swe. *tid*), *duk* (< Swe. *duk*) 'cloth' and *bistyra* (< Swe. *bestyra*) 'manage, arrange'.

[2] Note that *tilifuon* has the stress on the last syllable of the root/word. Diachronically an innovation in Elfdalian, stress on the last syllable of multisyllabic words has become frequent with the influx of *ex externo* words.

Some older, nativised words have evolved differently from the Swedish equivalents they are based on, both in phonological and semantic aspects, for example, *ridjir* 'govern; quarrel' (< Swe. *regera* 'govern') and its older, more nativised equivalent *ridjärå* (reminding of *djärå* 'to do', with similar phonology and morphology), both fitting into pre-existing morphological patterns. The word *kumia* 'short story; anecdote' was probably nativised through both phonological and semantic adaptation into Elfdalian (*phono-semantic matching*),[3] based on *ex externo comedia* on the one hand, and the Elfdalian verb *kum ijug* 'think of something; cross one's mind' on the other. This word also fits well into pre-existing morphological patterns in the language.

13.1.3.6 Puristic word formation

As mentioned earlier, *ex interno* word formation has always been productive in Elfdalian. Owing to increased consciousness of language preservation and language revitalisation since the 1980s, as well as enhanced language documentation and the production of Elfdalian-language literature in the same period, puristic word formation has increased, sometimes through conscious substitution of Swedish borrowings. For instance, some Elfdalian speakers who are linguistically conscious would rather use *ex interno* Elfd. *watun* 'capable; smart; skilled' than *ex externo duktin* (< Swe. *duktig* < Middle MLG *duchtig*), Elfd. *upi gåp* 'surprised' (lit. 'with an open mouth'), rather than *fewånað* or *upi ferunder* (< Swe. *förvånad, förundrad*) or the newly coined *råðstemmen* 'conference' (lit. 'council meeting', through influence of Icelandic *ráðstefna* 'conference' (lit. 'council meeting')) rather than the Swedish-based *konferens*. Likewise, everyday words such as *swigå* 'swish' ('to swing; wave' and now, through phono-semantic matching, additionally meaning 'to transfer money through the Swedish *Swish* application' (Swe. *swisha*)) and *Kråy'ssbuotję* (lit. 'the face book') 'Facebook'.

13.1.4 Lexicon and word formation by morphological structure

Most Elfdalian words belong to one of four word formation types: simplices, derivatives, compounds or abbreviations (see Section 13.1.1).

13.1.4.1 Simplices

A simplex consists merely of a root, possibly with a inflectional suffix, for example, *dag* 'day', *wik-å* 'week.F', consisting of the root *wik* + the

[3] See Sapir and Zuckermann (2008).

inflectional *å* (cf. *wik-u* 'week.F.ACC.SG' and *wik-ur* 'weeks.F.NOM.PL'). *Ex externo* words are often impossible to analyse morphologically and semantically for the native speaker. Hence, words such as *elefant* 'elephant' and *tilifuon* 'telephone' are considered simplices rather than complex. Verbs can be simplices, for example, *truo* 'think; believe' or *byddj-a* 'dwell; build', including the infinitive or inflectional suffix *-a* or complex (that is, derived or compound).

13.1.4.2 Derivatives

A derivative consists of a root and one or more word formation affixes, thus forming a stem. A word formation affix should usually be productive and analysable for the native speaker in order to 'qualify' as an affix, but the borders between what is analysable and productive are not always clear-cut. Hence, from *dag* 'day' > *dag-lig* 'daily' is formed with the help of the adjective suffix *-lig*.

Many prefixed words in Elfdalian are ultimately reproduced on MLG words, mediated through Swedish, sometimes partially using *ex interno* elements, for example, *bi-tal-ningg* 'payment'. The verb *bi-tålå* 'pay' is in itself ultimately reproduced on MLG *betalen* through the mediation of Swedish *betala*. The root *tal-*, as well as the suffix *-ningg* were pre-existent in Elfdalian, but the prefix *bi-*, as well as the structure and meaning of the word, were borrowed. The word *ti-ningg* 'newspaper' (of *tið* 'time' + the noun suffix *ningg*) is likewise reproduced on MLG *tīdinge*, through Swedish *tidning*, first in the meaning 'news' and later 'newspaper'.

The productive prefix *ǫo-* denotes negation, for example, *ǫoietin* (lit. 'un-eaten', that is, 'one who hasn't eaten'), *ǫolaik* (lit. 'unlike', that is, 'different') and *ǫointressant* 'uninteresting'.

Verbs can also include derivatives with the help of a particle, for example, *är ǫ̊* (lit. 'hear on'), that is, 'listen'.

The suffix *-ug* is still productive, often denoting the abundance of something, for example, *byönnug* 'lots of bears' < *byönn* 'bear', *muggug* 'lots of mosquitos' < *mugg* 'mosquito' and *fuokug* 'lots of people' < *fuok* 'people', in expressions such as *eð ir byönnut/muggut/fuokut* 'there are a lot of bears/mosquitos/people'. For more derivational suffixes, see also Section 13.1.1.

13.1.4.3 Compounds

Compounds are two or more roots combined into one stem. Noun compounds take the gender and declension of the last root noun; for example, *brindtjyr* 'moose cow' is feminine like *tjyr* 'cow' and likewise follows the declension of *tjyr*.

Compounding is a highly productive process in Elfdalian, which is also noticeable by the one-word prosody rather than several-word prosodies of several separate words. *Brindtjyr* 'moose cow', mentioned above, is based on *brinde* 'moose' + *tjyr* 'cow'. *Akukall* 'driver' is based on *åka* 'to drive' + *kall* 'person'. However, what is formally a compound in Elfdalian is not automatically a word in the lexicon. For instance, one can talk about drunkenness on Thursdays as *tụosdagsfyllą* (< *tụosdag-s-fyllą*) '(lit. 'the') Thursday-drunkenness', without this being an established lexical unit in the Elfdalian lexicon. Moreover, definite noun phrases whose head noun is modified by adjectives are most commonly expressed by definite compounds, for example, *grannsulniðgaunggär* 'the beautiful sunsets.M.NOM.PL.DEF' (*granner suolniðgaungger* in the indefinite form), *sturplanietär* 'the big planets.M.NOM.PL.DEF' (cf. *sturer planieter* in the indefinite form), *guoðweðred*.DEF 'good weather' (in the definite form, as it is a non-count noun), *waitmyöled* 'white flour' (definite form, as it is a non-count noun).[4] The distinction between ad hoc compounds and lexicalised compounds is not always clear-cut. Words such as *stur-stað* 'big city' and *gamt-glåmå* 'speak in the old fashion' are regarded as established lexical units in the Elfdalian lexicon, although in English they would be regarded as ad hoc phrases. Although pronounced as compounds, some adjective + noun compounds are often spelled as separate words, for example, *fuost gaundjin* 'the first time' (rather than *fuostgaundjin*) and *frisk luptę* 'fresh air.DEF'.

The augmentative *liuot-* 'very' is used as a first element of a compound, as in *liuotkringgt* 'very often' (which is, however, unlexicalised).

Diminutives can be formed by *lisl-* (alternatively *lissl-*) 'little, small', for example, *lislkripp* 'little child' (< *lisl-* 'little' + kripp 'child') and *lislöks* 'hatchet, small axe' (< *lisl-* + *ökse* 'axe'). A few diminutives were formed by derivation, for example, *gråkka* 'a small spruce' (< *grån* 'spruce') and *pyndjel* 'small pouch' (< *pungg* 'pouch'). The element *få-* can be used to mean 'little', as in *fåkunnun* (lit. 'few-knowledgeable') 'ignorant'.

Verbs can likewise be compounded, for example, *bufyör* (< *bu-* 'dwelling' + *fyöra* 'to lead') 'move to or from the summer pasture' and *iem-fyör* (< *iemn* 'equal' + *fyöra* 'to lead') 'compare', calqued on Swedish *jäm-för-a* with identical literal and actual meaning.

Examples of *ex externo* compounds are *klasskompis* 'classmate', where both elements are reproduced on Swedish, as well as *swennsjäksa* 'stag party.F.' (Swedish *svensexa*), where the second element is nativised into Elfdalian (compare Swedish *sex* and Elfdalian *sjäks* 'six'). However, the

[4] This phenomenon is also called 'adjective incorporation' (Dahl 2015, 127ff).

suffix *-a* does not behave as a native Elfdalian word, as we would normally expect an apocope in such cases, that is, **swennsjäks.*

Long-syllabled compound elements ending in an oral vowel usually undergo an apocope, no matter their position in the compound, for example, *gęslkull* 'shepherd, an unmarried woman working at the summer pastures' (< *gęsla* 'pasture (land)' + *kulla* 'girl, unmarried woman'), *brindkåv* 'moose calf' (< *brinde* 'moose' + *kåv* 'calf').

13.1.4.4 Abbreviated forms

Abbreviated forms in Elfdalian are usually reproduced on *ex externo* lexical material, most commonly mediated by Swedish. Usually, when abbreviations exist, they are the only ones in use rather than the full forms, for example, such acronyms as *app* (of **applikasiuon*) 'app, application', *teve* (of **tilivisiuon*) 'TV, television', *USA* 'USA' and *kolla* 'check; look' (cf. the longer *kontrollira* 'check; control').

13.2 Personal and place names

This section covers Elfdalian personal names and place names. Elfdalian personal names include many nativised forms of equivalent Swedish names. A special type of oeconym embodied by farm names is typical for Övdaln and its surrounding regions. Place names in Övdaln usually have their own local etymology, and the Swedish equivalents are sometimes phonological adaptations that do not take the original semantics into account.

13.2.1 Personal names

Pre-Christian North Germanic first names appear to be uncommon in Elfdalian. Rather, nativised names from Swedish or through Swedish mediation appear to be the most common in LCE. In official documents, Elfdalian names have always been registered in their Swedish forms.

For the declension of first names and place names, see Section 3.2.4.2.

13.2.1.1 First names

The following lists contain some of the most common Elfdalian first names found in the sources (see also Section 13.2.3).

13.2.1.1.1 Male names

Andis, Andes, Andäs 'Andrew' (Swe. *Anders*)
Ierk, Ierik 'Erik' (Swe. *Erik*)
Juannes, Jannes 'John' (Swe. *Johannes*)
Jugå, Juan 'John' (Swe. *Johan*)
Lars, Lasse 'Lars' (Swe. *Lars, Lasse*)
Mitjål 'Michael' (Swe. *Mikael*)
Nisse, Nils 'Nils' (Swe. *Nils, Nisse*)
Mas 'Matthew' (Swe. *Mats*)
Pär, Pelle 'Peter' (Swe. *Peter, Pär, Pelle*)
Päðer 'Peter' (Swe. *Peder*)
Tuomas 'Thomas' (Swe. *Thomas*)
Ulåv, Ulle 'Olaf' (Swe. *Olof, Olle*)

13.2.1.1.2 Female names

Anna 'Anna' (Swe. *Anna*)
Berit 'Birgit' (Swe. *Berit, Brita, Birgitta*)
Djertrauð 'Gertrude' (Swe. *Gertrud*)
Elị 'Ellen' (Swe. *Elin*)
Ilda 'Hilda' (Swe. *Hilda*)
Ilma 'Hilma' (Swe. *Hilma*)
Justịe 'Justine' (Swe. *Justina*)
Karị 'Catherine' (Swe. *Karin*)
Katrại 'Catherine' (Swe. *Katrin*)
Kestẹ 'Christine' (Swe. *Kerstin*)
Lina 'Lina, Lena' (Swe. *Lina, Lena*)
Maja 'Mary' (Swe. *Maria*)
Margit 'Margaret' (Swe. *Margit, Margareta*)
Mari 'Mary' (Swe. *Maria*)
Äva 'Eve' (Swe. *Eva*)

13.2.1.1.3 Pre-Christian names

Some North Germanic, pre-Christian Elfdalian first names are only known as they still make up part of farm names in Övdaln.[5]

[5] It is not certain whether all these first names were actually native to Övdaln, or whether some of those occurring in farm names were only named after people who moved to Övdaln from other places.

Djyri (m.) (< ON *Guðriðr*)
Gullik (m.) (< ON *Guðleikr*)
Gund (m.) (< ON *Guðmundr*)
Guner (m.) (< ON *Gunnarr*)
Gunil (f.) (< ON *Gunnhildr*)
Indjbuor (f.) (< ON *Ingiborg*)
Indjel (m.) (< ON *Ingjaldr*)
Kani (m.) (< ON *Kani*)
Ketil (m.) (< ON *Ketill*)
Rangd (f.) (< ON *Ranghildr*)
Ribbe (m.)
Sjurð (m.) (< ON *Sigurðr*) [cf. Faroese *Sjúrður*]
Sovald (m.)
Swen (m.) (< ON *Sveinn*)
Tåmås, Tuomas (m.) (cf. Swe. *Thomas*)
Truond (m.) (< ON *Þróndr*)

13.2.1.1.4 Modern names

Modern Swedish first names were nativised into Elfdalian after the Classical Elfdalian period; for example, *Byönn* (lit. 'bear') (< Swe. *Björn*) and *Iemil* 'Emil' (< Swe. *Emil*). Other first names may take forms where nativisation is not apparent, for example, *Lena* 'Lena', *Emma* 'Emma', where Swedish has similar forms, or have non-nativised forms, for example, *Hanna* 'Hanna', where *h* does not make part of the traditional Elfdalian phoneme inventory. In more recent times, children in Övdaln have been receiving purely Swedish names.

13.2.1.2 Surnames and farm names

In order to identify persons with more than their first name, bynames consisting of farm names as the first element in a compound, followed by the first name, have been in frequent use, for example, *Bekk-Andes*, that is, Andes from the Bekk farm. See also Section 13.2.3.

When patronym-based Swedish surnames were introduced in Övdaln, these were often nativised colloquially into the Elfdalian language system in the spoken language; for example, *Ierk Antsjų* for 'Erik Andersson', *Ul-Jansų* for 'Olof Jansson' (where *Ul* is a shortened form of the first name *Ulåv*).[6]

[6] Both examples are from Frost Anders' diary (Andersson et al. 2017).

13.2.2 Place names

Local place names in Övdaln, its surroundings or remote places that have been in frequent use in Övdaln usually have Elfdalian names.

13.2.2.1 Formation and etymology of place names

A large number of Elfdalian place names consist of compounds, for example, *Övdaln* (*öve* 'river' + *daln* 'valley.DEF'), *Måmstað* 'ore place'. Others consist of simplices, some in the definite form, for example, *Nęseð* ('spit.DEF'), *Åsär* ('ridges.M.PL.DEF'). Some of the place names, like the ones mentioned earlier, are transparent and some are opaque from a synchronical angle, for example, *Kallser* and *Kåteli* (see Section 13.2.2.1.1). Place names outside Övdaln which have been in use traditionally are usually nativised, for example, *Amierik* 'America', *Ainggland* 'England', or retain forms that have come out of use in Swedish, for example, *Falu* 'Falun'.

Elfdalian place names have been used in the spoken language, whereas the official names and signs were in Swedish. In recent years, some road names acquired signs with only their Elfdalian names on them. Some original Elfdalian place names lost their original meaning when acquiring their official Swedish names, for example, Elfd. *Måmstað*, originally meaning 'ore place' and Swe. *Månsta* (no significance).

13.2.2.1.1 Some etymologies of Elfdalian place names

- *Gåswarv* occurs in sources from the sixteenth century, both as *Gar(d)s-*, *Gås(e)-* + *-arf(uit)*, *-(h)uarf(it)*, and the meaning is probably *gås* 'goose' + *warv* 'a place where the watercourse disappears or takes a new direction (e.g. behind a neck of land)', that is, 'a place near a neck of land with many geese'.[7]
- *Kallser* occurs in a source from 1539 as *Kalffsarffue*.DAT, that is, *Kalvs arv*, 'Kalf's (male name) inheritance' (Lindén 1970).
- *Kåteli*, perhaps from *kåt* 'happy' + **eli* 'well'.[8]
- *Westermykklaingg* (lit. 'western big meadow').
- *Övdaln* (lit. 'river valley.DEF').

[7] Stefan Jacobsson, personal communication, 1 March 2023.
[8] Stefan Jacobsson, personal communication, 1 March 2023.

Some place names appear to contain names of familiars:

- *Graimsåker*, lit. 'Graimb's (Old Norse *Grímr*) field', allegedly alluding to the giant with that name who used to live there long ago (ULMA IX:115; Helge Lindberg 1936), according to the popular belief.
- *Guonnsker*, a cliff name, lit. 'Guonna's cliff or mountain' (ULMA 301:4; Lars Levander 1917). *Guonna* (Swe. *Skogsrå*) is the 'Forest Nymph', a female familiar in popular belief.
- *Marutienn*, lit. 'Måråå's small lake' (ULMA G107, KG107SV; Helge Lindberg 1936), where *Måråå* (or *Pillermåråå,* cf. Swe. *trollslända*) is a name of a female familiar in popular belief.
- *Trullstugå* lit. 'troll cottage' (ULMA kGn82SV; Helge Lindberg 1958), a cottage on the east side of the river said to be haunted by *trolls* or ghosts.

For the declensions of place names, see Section 3.2.4.2.

13.2.2.2 Names of villages in Övdaln

Names of the important villages in Övdaln are listed here in Elfdalian and their Swedish equivalents.

Inhabitants of the various villages are usually denoted by compounding the name of the village with *kaller* 'people; men' or *kelingger* 'women', as in *luokkaller* 'inhabitants of Luoka; men from Luoka' and *klittkelingger* 'women from Klitten'. As to Övdaln, *övkaller* is used for 'inhabitants of Övdaln; men from Övdaln' and *övkallkelingger* for 'women from Övdaln'.[9]

- *Blibjärr* Blyberg
- *Brunnsbjärr* 'Brunnsberg'
- *Dysbjärr* 'Dysberg'
- *Garbjärr* 'Garberg'
- *Gåswarv* 'Gåsvarv'
- *Kallser* 'Karlsarvet'
- *Klittn* 'Klitten'
- *Kuntmåtт* 'Kuntmått'
- *Kåteli* 'Kåtila'
- *Laiðę* 'Liden'
- *Luoka* 'Loka'

[9] For a map of Övdaln, see Figure 1.3.

- *Mjå'n* 'Mjågen'
- *Måmstað* 'Månsta'
- *Nęseð* 'Näset'
- *Ostermykklaingg* 'Östermyckeläng'
- *Remað* 'Rämma'
- *Ruot* 'Rot'
- *Tjittn* 'Kittan'
- *Tjyörtjbynn* 'Kyrkbyn' (lit. 'the church village, the central village')
- *Uoln* 'Holen'
- *Wesa* 'Väsa'
- *Westermykklaingg* 'Västermyckeläng'
- *Åsär* (M.PL.DEF) 'Åsen'
- *Äväsbjärr* 'Evertsberg'

13.2.2.3 Some place names outside Övdaln

- *Ainggland* 'England'
- *Aisland*[10] 'Iceland'
- *Amierik* 'America'
- *Falu* 'Falun'
- *Mụora* 'Mora'
- *Norre* 'Norway'
- *Rettwaik* Swe. 'Rättvik'
- *Stokkol* 'Stockholm' (< Swe. *Stockholm*)
- *Swerre* 'Sweden'

13.2.3 Farm names

In rural areas of Dalarna, including Övdaln, it has traditionally been common to refer to a person by the name of his/her farm preceding the given name, called 'farm name' (sometimes 'oeconym', Swe. *gårdsnamn*). This name was also used in writing from the sixteenth century onwards, and thus had official status alongside the given name. Traditionally, patronymics were used in official documents, and the farm name therefore became the true family name. Nowadays, people in Dalarna typically have inherited surnames, but many bear a farm name alongside their surname. According to Swedish law from 2016, farm names may be registered officially as seperate names from the first and surnames.

[10] This place name is a result of puristic word coinage, based on *ais* 'ice' + *land* 'land' and replacing the traditional Swedish-based place name *Island* (identical in Swedish).

The farm name is placed before the given name, thus forming a compound. In this book, a hyphen is used between the farm name and the first name, for example: *Fiðer-Ann*, that is, Anna from the Fiðer farm and *Buð-Andes*, that is, Andes from the Buð farm.

Farm names also have a genealogical function: they are usually inherited and therefore connect a person to his or her family and also to the property of that family (a farm, inherited land etc.). Hence, a man with the name *Fiðer-Lass* would by his farm name *Fiðer* be connected to the Fiðer farm, even if he no longer lives on the family farm.

Some common sources for farm names include:

1. Personal names (see also Section 13.2.1.1), often in their possessive form, for example, *Tåmås* 'Thomas', *Jugå* 'John'; sometimes combined personal names from two to three generations, for example, *Ulmas* 'Olaf's Matthias' (from *Ulåv* and *Mas*), *Permats* 'Peter's Matthias' (from *Pär* and *Matts*).
2. Names given to soldiers (Swe. *soldatnamn*), for example, *Knaiv* 'knife', *Guolat* 'Goliath'.
3. Geographical origin, *Ieð* 'moor', *Bjärg* 'mountain'.
4. Occupations, for example, *Klukker* 'parish clerk', *Skradder* 'tailor', *Belter* 'belt-maker'.
5. Appearance, for example, *Stutt* 'short'.

Ið war <u>Oll-Lass</u> og <u>Araks-Joan</u> so byggd niði Launggbokk.
It was Oll-Lass and Araks-Joan, who lived down Launggbokk.

Sę war ið <u>Ansbokk-Pär</u> og <u>Traver-Katrin</u> so byggd nest <u>Elg-Ulåv</u>.
Then it was Ansbokk-Pär and Traver-Katrin, who lived by Elg-Ulåv.

Ið war <u>Karin-Ulåv</u>; ig kam ijug ig ulld spyr an um <u>Gerd-Marit</u> add weð djipt nossn.
It was Karin-Ulåv; it crossed my mind that I should ask him if Gerd-Marit had ever been married.

Wiktor og <u>Spiuot-Algot</u> åvå ferið að Ugsisjumm og fistja.
Wiktor and Spiuot-Algot have gone to Lake Ugsi to fish.

Traditionally in Dalarna, given names (first names) were often inherited, usually from grandparents but also from parents. Hence, multiple people with the same name were distinguished by prefixing, for example, *lis(s)l-* 'little' for Junior or *gamt-/gambel-* 'old' or *stur-* 'big' for Senior: *Stur-Swen*

‘Sven Sr’ *Gamt-Tåmås-Ierk* ‘Eric Sr from the farm Tåmås’. In some cases, these became farm names on their own, for example, *Sturswens-Ann*.

> **Swärmụor kolld dier fer Gambel-Laungg-Ann.**
> They called his mother-in-law Gambel-Laungg-Ann (i.e. the mother of his wife, Laungg-Anna).
>
> **Gambel-Tyskmụor fikk so mitjið guoðkwåð, so å belld liev ån tast Lissl-Tysk-Andes wart so stur, so an dugd tegg kwåðų.**
> Old Tysk wife got so much chewable resin that she could leave it until Tysk-Andes Jr became so big that he could chew resin.[11]

The farm name can also be used in compounds to show the belongings of the farm in question. Thus, *Fiðertjynär* ‘the Fiðer cows’ denotes the cows belonging to the Fiðer farm, *Fiðerkrippär* ‘the Fiðer children’ the children living on the farm and *Fiðerfaðer* ‘the father of the Fiðer farm family’. The word *by* ‘village’ is used in the archaic meaning ‘farm’ in a few compounds such as *Fiðerby* ‘Fiðer farm’. The farm name may also be used on its own as a name for the people living on that farm, for example, *fiðerär* ‘the people living on the Fiðer farm’.

> **Ulmasgubbin saggd: ”Byssą ir iet farlit wapen, i synneriet dar å ir laddað.”**
> The husband from the Ulmas farm said: ‘The rifle is a dangerous weapon, especially when it is loaded.’
>
> **Ið war mes Trappmasfaðer ulld westri stamneð et tjyöls og slå.**
> It happened when the father from the Trappmas farm was going west to the wilderness by the dam to mow grass.

[11] ‘Old Tysk mother’ means the elder of two mothers on the Tysk farm.

14
Text samples

This chapter includes passages in Elfdalian, as well as their English translation, from different sources:

Texts originating in Elfdalian speakers born before 1900:

- Oral storytelling: Records of stories collected by Lars Levander (Section 14.1).
- Autobiographical writing: Frost Anders' diary (Section 14.2).
- Oral history: Adapted oral record (Gunnar Nyström) (Section 14.3).

Texts in revitalised Elfdalian from 2005 and later:

- Non-fiction: *Tjyörtjbaured* (Bo Westling) (Section 14.4).
- Narrative: Children's literature – *Sofia, superkullą frå Övdalim* (Björn Rehnström) (Section 14.5).

14.1 Oral storytelling

14.1.1 *Fäbodlivet i gamla tider* (Swedish for 'Life in the summer pasture shielings in the old times')

Told by Vikar-Margit and annotated by Andersson (1936–7)

Ovelę, twå wikur firi missåmårn, brukeðum wịd far að iembuðum min krytyrę. Iembuðär addum wịð i Tuollaið og Yrånsbuðum. Oller so ulld war i summu bulag fuor summu gaungg. I iembuðum warum wịd tast að bufyörsdaem, so war tiund juli. An da'n war eð bufyörsdatu að launggbuðum. Klittkallär add sain langgbuðer i Swartbjärr, Relldalim og Dritrenn. Wịð brukeðum åvå krytyrę mjäst åv i Relldalim og nån gaungg i Swartbjärr.

During the early summer, two weeks before midsummer, we used to go to the close summer pasture shielings with the animals. Our close summer pasture shielings we had at Tuollaið and Yrånbuðär. All those who were to be in the same company set off at the same time. We stayed in the close summer pasture shielings until the day we left for the summer pasture, which was the 10th of July. That day was the date of *bufyöringg* (i.e. moving to the pasture shielings) to the remote summer pasture shielings. The Klitten people had their remote summer pasture shielings in Swartbjärr, Relldaln and Dritrenn. We used to have our animals usually in Relldaln and from time to time in Swartbjärr.

Da'n firi bufyösda'n war eð iet liv i iembuðum kanenda. Oller so add krytyrę i buðum kam dait og ulld jåp til fåi årdningg ollt so dier ulld åvå min sig. Dier ulld djär upp mjotję, tjinn og yst og kuok myssmyöreð. Dier ulld disk byttur og skålär og duon til. Tjynär ulld dier av in an da'n og still og wattn.

On the day before the move (to the summer pasture shielings), there was indeed a lot of commotion in the close summer pasture shielings. All those who had animals in the summer pasture shielings arrived there to help gather and prepare all the things they intended to carry with them. They would use all the milk by making butter and cheese and cooking soft whey cheese. They would wash up the buckets and bowls and get everything ready. They would keep the cows indoors that day, feed them and give them water.

14.1.2 *Botande* (Swedish for 'Healing')

Told by Per Berg from Åsär and annotated by Levander (1916)

An-dar Digerås-Ierk, eð war sakt ienn so war duktig buot fuotję. Launggt attri tiðn so minnes ig at eð war ien Dysbjärskall, so ietteð Krok-Pär, so add faið ien liuotsturan knaul attrå åsem. Og sę stjikkeð dier etter Digerås-Ierk, og ses-n add faið drikk brendwined mjäst-n willde, so luväð an at-n ulld buot Pär. Og sę um nåtę so låg dier aut i stollę, an og Pär, og kelindję låg iesum i stugun. Og å ärd ur eð war, slais rakkär edd skellt og fuotjeð edd rivis aut i stollę. Og sę um morgụn so add knauln feð brott. Og Pär saggd at-n add bar kennt slais nogär edd að tjisslað an attrå åsem.

That Digerås-Ierk was certainly someone who was good at healing people. Long ago, I remember there was a man from Dysbjärr named Krok-Pär who had got a very big lump in the back of his throat. And then they sent

for Digerås-Ierk, and after he had drunk as much schnapps as he wanted, he promised that he would heal Pär. And then, in the night, he and Pär were sleeping in the barn while his wife was sleeping alone in the house. And she heard what sounded like dogs barking and people fighting in the barn. And then, in the morning, the bump had disappeared. And Pär said that he had only felt as if someone had tickled him in the back of his throat.

14.1.3 *Skogsrå* (Swedish for 'The Forest Nymph')

Told by Timber-Karina from Åsär and annotated by Levander (1916)

Iessn i westfluo'nn so ulld Timber-Ann og fađer ennes aut og tag att ien båt autwið Guonndyndjskerę. Og sę, mę dier djingg autmin övin, so fingg dier sjå tụo nakukripp, so add gaið å brieð. Og, du sir, at eð war tiðut um wårę, so indjin edd að bellt bað dar. Og sę yöpt Ann so að diem: "Guonkripper, guonkripper." Og kum ijug at dier-dar krippär ermdes etter Ann og yöpt boð dier og: "Guonkripper, guonkripper." Og sę fuor dier rett in i skereð.

Once in the smooth water in the west, Timber-Anna and her father were going out to bring back a boat from near Guonndyndjsker. And then, while they were walking alongside the river, they caught sight of two naked children, who were walking abreast. And, you see, it was early spring, so nobody could have been swimming there. And then Anna exclaimed to them: 'Guonna children, Guonna children.' Can you imagine? These children imitated Anna, both shouting as well: 'Guonna children, Guonna children.' And then, they left again, straight into the rock.

14.2 Autobiographical writing

From Frost Anders' diary (Andersson et al. 2017).

Uosdag 24 juli
Ig ar sovið upå smiðwindem i nåţ. Ig fuor upyr legun og sett å mig klautą kl. 4, og sę fuor ig niði tjyötjeð og wermd upp åvkuotjeð so war i pannun. Ig mold i mig ien skarpbull, so guott sos ielan, attrað, fer ig tykkt ig war saugend.

Wednesday 24 July
I slept at the Smið farm attic last night. I got up from bed and put clothes on at four o'clock, and then I went down to the kitchen and heated up the

concoction that was in the pan. I stuffed myself with crispbread together with it, as good as whole, for I felt I was hungry.

Ses ig add weð aut og ärend mig, war ig so frå, so ig skrieveð ått saiður i ien lissl buok, skrieveð upp slaikt ig add fer mig i går, ifall eð ir nogų myndugiet eld anų, so tyttjer dier wil av rieð å wen ig djär, og um ig edd tiuont noð öre.

After I had gone out to relieve myself, I was so alert that I wrote eight pages in a small book, noted such things I was doing yesterday, in case some authority thinks they want to find out what I am doing, and if I had earned some penny.

Dier lär fel edd weð nöðuger skät å dibitsailą noð kwartier eld anað att, um eð al rekk til byddj dårausę ollsta'ss, so dier edd bellt bur in, um eð edd funnes nogų mennistj, so edd wilað og dugåð djärå noð dagswertj og tiuon, so an edd dugåð livå og war til autå tä livå å fattigwårdn.

They would probably have to increase the income taxes by about a quarter of an aln[1] again, if it should suffice to build mental hospitals[2] everywhere, so that they would be sending people in, if someone would be willing and capable of doing some daywork and earn some money, so he would be able to live and exist without living on the poor relief.

Eð syöks int go til få war til og far yvyr noger að nogum eller eld diem so åvå lönär åv statem nų fer tiðn. Ir eð sę-nt noger eld oðer so ar selt sig min ull og år að buolagum og sę is-järskriptlärdär åv ymsum slagum, prestär og dukterär og slaikt fuok, so åvå so stur löner og yms eller fetjenster, so dier åvå råð til aindj å sig nog nypressað bruokuäsu, dar dier kumå draungnend frå nog snogg kwinnfuok upyr legum framterað middag boð yrkt og ielit. Eð ir fel isų-jär avunssiuoką, so narrer til mig skriev nið slaik fundiringger.

It doesn't seem to be possible to live and occupy oneself with anything for anyone nowadays than other than for those who get their wages from the state. Aren't we talking about those who sold themselves completely to the corporations? And moreover, all those versed in the Scriptures of various kinds, priests and doctors and such people, who have such big salaries and various other profits that they can afford to put some newly

[1] An old Swedish measure.
[2] The equivalent of 'madhouses' in the original.

ironed trousers on when they come dawdling from bed from good-looking women towards dinner, both on weekdays and weekends. It is this envy that drives me to write down these kinds of reflections.

14.3 Oral history: *Itler og oðer wärdskrig* 'Hitler and the Second World War'

Told by Kluker-Ilma from Kallser, annotated by Gunnar Nyström (adapted version published in Nyström and Sapir 2015).

Ið war mes krig war og Itler kę'tt sig sos liuotest, grasirеð og sluo under sig land og rike ollsta'ss. Ið war Itler, an-dar liuotn, so ryörd i og ö'dd åv mjäst iel wärdn. Og edd fel að ö'tt åv enn ið kwer war og, um an edd að faið war til liteð til. Ja, Guð jåp uoss!

It was during the war and Hitler moving very intensively, ravaging and conquering everywhere all over the country. It was that evil Hitler who was stirring and destroying almost the whole world. And he could surely have destroyed what was left of it, as well, had he stayed alive for some more time. Goodness gracious!

An tuog fel boð Danmark og Norre og. Ja, dier lärd fel få werd iwari dyö, stakkars fuok. Kum ijug ur an rusteð i diem-dar fattigbyum dar i Norre. Dier stelld upp diem mụot gambelautausweggum og skot diem, ielụ ausold i seð. Dier bar sig að so min noskum so mụoteð. Du wet noskär edd it að wilað djävå sig, dier eld. Og an fikk då slepp dyö tä slut.

He conquered both Denmark and Norway. Yes, they have indeed noticed it, those poor people. Imagine how he was ravaging in those poor villages in Norway. They put them against the walls of the old outhouses and shot them, whole families in turn.

Itler miend fel an ulld tågå boð Ainggland og, og byrd å ras og bomb dar, so dar lugäð fel yvyr iel Ainggland. An så'dd bombum dar. Men dier dugd fel uppi tä slut, ainggelsmann og amierikan, og stað og djär end å diem-dar autstjuotninggsrampum an add dar, so-n skot in i Ainggland min. Dier war daitter og fingg ien fulltreff.

Hitler intended to conquer England as well, and began to ravage and bomb there, so it flamed over the whole of England. He was throwing

(lit. 'sowing') bombs there. But finally, they, the Englishman and the American, managed to get up in the air, and they set off to (lit. 'and off to') destroy the launching ramps he placed there, with which he was shooting on England. They were there and gave [him] a direct hit.

Men ukað eð war i Rysland, ur Itler war dar og rusteð og brennde! An syökt end að Stalinggrað innå ry'ssär fingg etter sig fuotą og dugd byr å mụota. Og dar fros dier ijel fer åm, i Rysland, dar so war tjyöldę, festår du, kanstji boð fros og swalt ijel.

But oh, what it was like in Russia, how Hitler was ravaging and burning there! He made it the whole way to Stalingrad before the Russians pulled themselves together and could begin to offer resistance. And there, they froze to death because of him, in Russia, where there was frost, you see, perhaps they both froze and starved to death.

Og ry'ssn mụoteð diem-dar, sir du. Og sę fyöst dier tyską fråmånað sig end daiti Berlin. So eð ir fer dyö ry'ssn ier åv Berlin. Og dar myyö'tt dier ainggelsmannem og amierikanem. So eð ir dier so ieg åv Tyskland nụ. Eð wart gainum eð, eð wart so dą.

And the Russian warded off those, you see. And then they drove the Germans in front of them the whole way to Berlin. So, this is why the Russian owns half of Berlin now. And there, they met the Englishman and the American. So, it is they who own half of Germany now. That's how (lit. 'It was through this') things turned out this way then.

Og Itler siuov, an skot sig upi Bertjesgardem, upi Örnnestę. (An lär åvå dar upi nog bjärg eld wen eð ir. Dier kolld eð Örnnesteð.) An war dar uppi, og mę dier kam uvnęr boð weståţer og oståţer, so fikk an luv tågå kaulụ og stjuot boð sig og Äva Braun dar. Og dier fingg finn diem slaika. An djärd boð livd og duo sos an lärd, an.

And Hitler himself shot himself in *Bertjesgardn*,[3] up in *Örnnesteð*.[4] (He apparently had something there in some mountain, or whatever it was. They called it Örnnesteð.) He was up there and when they got too close from the west as well as from the east, he had to take a bullet and shoot

[3] A nativised Elfdalian form of the German *Berchtesgaden*. Note that this is the name of Hitler's vacation resort, and that he committed suicide in his bunker in Berlin and not in Berchtesgaden.
[4] A nativised Swedish-Elfdalian form of German *Adlerhorst*, the *Eagle's Nest*, a building near Berchtesgaden that served members of the Nazi party during the Second World War.

both himself and Äva Braun there.[5] And they found them like that [i.e. shot]. He both lived and died as he taught.

Og ses Itler add stypplas upå neved, so war ed it nod muotstånd kwer. Syöks saia, ed war indjin fråmånad.

And after Hitler stumbled on his nose [i.e. fell down, died], there was no resistance left. One can say that there was no leadership (lit. 'there was nobody in the front'), so to speak.

14.4 Non-fiction: *Tjyörtjbaured* 'The Church Storehouse'

Written by Bo Westlin (Nyström and Sapir 2015).

Millå tjyörtjun og prestgardem i Tjyörtjbymm i Övdalim stand tjyörtjbaured. Ittad parbaured ir gamblest, ielt biwåråd timberaused i Swerre. Ed ir datirad ad mitt å 1280-talj. Ed kann end ed ir byggt summu gaungg sos fuost tjyörtją i Övdalim, so war ien timberbyggnad å og, men ed ir it säkert.

Between the church and the vicarage in Tjyörtjbynn in Övdaln is the church log cabin.[6] That log cabin is the oldest completely preserved wooden house in Sweden. It is dated to the middle of the 1280s. It is possible that it was built at the same time as the first church in Övdaln, which was also a timber building, but this is not certain.

Truolitwis ar it baured stended dar so ed stand idag, åtå nån tjilumjeter laingger su'tter, ettersos fuost tjyörtją mått ad stended dar noger. Fer å flierum stellum å baurę sir an mertję so tyd upå ed ar uorted nidmerkt og flyttad.

Most likely, the log cabin was not located where it is located today, but some kilometres further to the south, as the first church was probably located there somewhere. For in several places in the log cabin one can notice marks indicating that an enumeration of the logs took place and that it was then moved.

[5] Äva is the Elfdalian equivalent of German *Eva*.
[6] Tjyörtjbynn is the chief town in Övdaln.

Summer åvå mient baured ar werið ien 'prestjälle' tä byr min, dar prestn frå Mụora brukeð såvå mes an war i Övdalim og jält messụ, innå Övdaln wart iegen sokken og fikk iegnan prest.

Some thought that the log cabin was a 'priest attic' to begin with, where the priest from Mora used to sleep when he was in Övdaln to celebrate the mass before Övdaln became a separate parish and had its own priest.

Men fuost og fremst åvå dier brukað baured tä fewåvå 'säðstiundę' ini, an dieln åv tiundn so war säðskuonneð, og å baksaiðun åv baurę finns eð mertję inristaðụ so markir ur byöndrär åvå lemnað dait säðę.

But first and foremost, they have used the log cabin to store the 'grain-tithe' in, the part of the tithe that was the grain seed, and at the back of the log cabin carved marks are to be found, marking how the farmers used to leave their grain seeds there.

Ymssta'ss å baurę ir eð runur inristaðer, og ringgum baursdörär finns eð spiral- og raunkornamentę, so laiken diem so finnas, fer eksempel, i stavtjyörtjum i Norre.

In different places in the log cabin runes are carved, and around the log cabin door there are spiral and creeper ornaments, resembling those occurring, for instance, in stave churches in Norway.

At tjyörtjbaured ir liuotgåmålt amm wịð witåð laindje, men int upå årsträ'tt ur gåmålt eð ir. Severin Solders ser bar i 'Älvdalens sockens historia' at eð wart byggt firi Gustav Wasaes tið; Gerda Boëthius, so djikk eter ukkụ ornamentę sjå aut, truo'dd eð war byggt nossn millå 1250 og 1350. Eð tuold tast in å 1980-taleð innå eð wart riktut datirað. Min dendrokronologiskum mituoðum wart eð faststellt at timbred so tjyörtjbaured ir byggt åv wart fellt wittern 1285–1286.

The fact that the church log cabin is very old we have known for a long time, but not precisely how old it is. Severin Solder merely says in *Älvdalens sockens historia* that it was built before Gustav Vasa's period;[7] Gerda Boëthuis, following the appearance of the ornamentation, thought

[7] *Älvdalens sockens historia* is a series of books in Swedish about the history of the parish of Övdaln published between 1936 and 1953.

it was built sometime between 1250 and 1350. Only in the 1980s was it dated correctly. With the help of dendrochronological methods, it was determined that the timber used to build the church log cabin was cut down in the winter of 1285–1286.

14.5 Narrative: Children's literature – *Sofia, superkullą frå Övdalim* 'Sofia, the super girl from Övdaln'

Written by Björn Rehnström (2021).

Chapter 1: *Sån byrdes eð* 'This is how it began'

Sofia såt auti sandlåðun autå gardem og läkte. Eð war fullt i läkum i sandlåðun. Eð war övend fullt, so Sofia ryömdes mjäst it siuov dari."Ig får fel luv sjå sandn um eð al go läk nod", ugst å. Sę byrd å å wind autyr läkum. Eð war spaðir, errur, plastkafikappär, sandkakumåttę og nod mikkel eller gräjur so flog upi weðrę. Að slutę war eð tuomt i sandlåðun. Eð war bar Sofia og ien litn og liuotgrann stie kwere. Ien porrfyrstie. Grą'll swart war an, og um an kuogäð liuotnụog såg an sos nogụ roðụ strik ini stienem. Eð war sos um an edd kuogåð rett upi imiln ien mörkan agustikweld um an ir mitt auti raisę noger. Kuogäð an nemmera og brukeð fantasi'nn liteð såg an sos ogụ og iet kråy'ss ini stienem. Eð såg aut sos kråy'sseð å ienum påyka. Min liuost og ruttjeð år.

Sofia was playing in the sandpit in the yard. The sandpit was full of toys. It was brim-full, so there was hardly room for Sofia herself in there. 'I guess I should look at the sand and see if it's possible to play at all,' she thought. Then she started throwing out toys. In there were spades, rakes, plastic cups, sand cake measuring cups and quite a lot of other things that were flying up in the air. Finally, the sandpit was empty. There was only Sofia and a small and very beautiful stone left. A porphyry stone. It was totally black, and if you looked very thoroughly, you could see some red stripes inside the stone. It was as if you had looked right into the sky on a dark evening in August if you were somewhere in the middle of the forest. If you looked closer and used your imagination a bit, you could see eyes and a face inside the stone. It looked like a boy's face. With blond and curly hair.

Kuogäð an endå liteð nemmera og sos laingger in i stie'nn såg an påytjin war räsprekklun i kråy'ssę. Räsprekklun og suolbrend såg an aut. Og liuotfrek. An-dar stie'nn war ringgum sju sentimięter laungg og kanstji

tri sentimįeter brieð. Og eð war sos stie'nn edd að werið livendes upå noð wis. Eð kenndes guott i laivę að Sofia kuogå laingger og laingger ini stie'nn. Eð war sos stie'nn wär iet järt so sluo. Eð kenndes dält og guott upå noð wis.

If you looked even closer and for a longer time at the inside of the stone you could see that the boy's face was freckled. He seemed freckled and sunburnt. And very gentle. That stone was about seven centimetres long and perhaps three centimetres wide. And it seemed as if the stone had been alive somehow. Sofia had a pleasant feeling inside her, looking deeper and deeper inside the stone. It felt as if the stone was a beating heart. Somehow, she had an assured and good feeling.

– "Men aj, aj!" – saggd Sofia rett sos eð war. Å add ingg skuo å fuotum og kennd noð wasst noð so pikkes under fuotem. Eð war fel tuomt i sandlåðun. Men niði sandem war eð noð wasst so gemdes. Og eð-dar wassað å add troðåð å glimäð sos gulleð.

– 'Oh, oh!' – said Sofia all of a sudden. She had no shoes on her feet and she felt something sharp stinging under her foot. It was empty in the sandpit. But in the sand, something sharp was hidden. And that sharp thing she had stepped on glittered like gold.

Min finggrum, so war wenest drituger, mukäð å undå lit åv sandę, so å ulld dugå få fram eð-dar so glimäð so uvliuo'tt grannt og lukkend. Å pikkeð niði finggrę inunder eð-dar so war so spennend. Og sę druog å uppyr noð. – "Men au au au!" – saggd å fer sig siuov. – "Au au au! Įe prinsesskraungin! Åv rienest gullę og min diamantą og ollt." Å-dar kraungną war festå'ss int åv gullę. Å war gar åv plastem, og mun Sofia add tjyöpt ån inå Konsum åreð firiað, men eð add fel Sofia glemmt åv. – "Guð jåp sig ur grannt!" – saggd å. Å sett prinsesskraungnų upå skollan og druog nið gummibandeð under akų.

With her fingers, which were very dirty, she shoved away a bit of the sand so she would be able to get out that thing that glittered so exceedingly beautifully and temptingly. She pricked down with her fingers at that thing that was so exciting. And then she pulled out something. – 'Oh, oh, oh!' – she said to herself. – 'Oh, oh, oh! A princess crown! Made of pure gold and with diamonds and everything.' That crown was of course not made of gold. It was made of plastic, and Sofia's mother had bought it at Konsum the year before, but Sofia had forgotten that. – 'Goodness

gracious!' – she said. She put the princess crown on her head and pulled down the rubber band under her chin.

"Ukin tur ig ar i dag! Welest mig! Fuost får ig i an-dar grannstie'nn. Og sę iss-järprinsesskraungnų. Ig sir aut sos įe riktug prinsessa," – saggd å. – "Eld sos įe riktug superkull." Sofia rekkt uppi yögerarmin i weðreð og remde: – "Ig ir Sofia, Superkullą frå Övdalim."

'How lucky I am today! Lucky me! First, I get hold of that beautiful stone. And then this princess crown. I look like a true princess,' – she said. – 'Or like a true super girl.' Sofia lifted her right arm up in the air and exclaimed: – 'I am Sofia, the Super Girl from Övdaln.'

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Elfdalian is the language traditionally spoken in Övdaln (Älvdalen), central Sweden. Due to its linguistic differences to Swedish, coupled with the determination of the speech community, several attempts have been made to acquire an official recognition of Elfdalian as a minority language in Sweden. However, despite growing interest in documenting and revitalising Elfdalian, it is still regarded as a dialect.

As one of the best-preserved members of a larger but lesser-known Dalecarlian (or Dalmål) sub-branch of the Scandinavian languages, Elfdalian is a unique language to study. The purpose of the grammar is to account for Late Classical, or 'Preserved', Elfdalian from linguistic, historical and sociolinguistic angles, and to make the language, including both its archaic and innovative features, accessible to a wider audience.

The grammar has multiple target groups: people in Övdaln who wish to revitalise or reclaim their language in a more original form than the one it was transferred into through language decline and Swedish influence since the beginning of the twentieth century; those who wish to transmit the language to others through preschool, school or adult instruction; and likewise others who wish to study a lesser-known North Germanic language. Linguists may find Elfdalian interesting from the angles of comparative historical linguistics, language structure, as well as sociolinguistics and language planning.

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